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**Scottish primary school teachers' perspectives
on multicultural and antiracist education**

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Abstract

Primary school teachers' commitment to social justice may be enshrined in various educational policies in Scotland and beyond, yet it stands in conflict with growing push for teacher accountability, value of education as a market place (Ball, 2006) and the persistence of the myth of meritocracy (Tomlinson, 2008; Oyler, 2012). At the level of practice, whether teachers actually engage in inclusive and critical multicultural education is not always clear; what we know for sure is that teachers find it difficult and shy away for any discussions which challenge power relations between groups (May and Sleeter, 2010). As student population continues to diversify, minority groups demand recognition in ways not seen before. Yet still, discrimination based on ethnicity, language, religion social class, disability, gender and sexual orientation is commonplace, and racism can often be an elephant in the (class)room, discussed in hushed voices only when an 'isolated incident' happens. Much more often, it remains unrecognised or is dealt with in a way which perpetuates white privilege (Arshad, 2008). Antiracism is oftentimes misunderstood or outright avoided, as teachers fear using any terminology that sounds negative or they are unsure of, and retreat to the language of all-encompassing, positive sounding, but fuzzy celebration of diversity and equality (Gaine, 2005). Multiculturalism, on the other hand, being blamed for failing integration and social cohesion of communities by the political right, remains in popular debates but occupies a weak position in education and public policy (Modood, 2007).

This research set out to investigate what are primary school teachers' perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education in the context of Scotland, where legislation and educational policies are in theory demanding educators to be proactive. The research followed a nested case study design, which involved observing and interviewing 9 class teachers in 4 primary schools, both rural and urban. I used the critical interpretive lens to find out what are their understandings of multicultural and antiracist education, both as concepts and principles and in terms of how they are being incorporated into their everyday teaching. Teachers were asked to define these terms, as they developed in the specific national context (Ball, 1990),

and then consider the interplay of ideals behind ‘race’ equality policies with the realities of their school and classroom practice.

This study was concerned with the personal, structural and institutional aspects of teachers’ work. The importance of the context of teachers’ work is stressed, that is their ‘organizational embeddedness’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994) and institutional thinking that teachers are thought to be immersed in. To get to know this context better, additional interviews with 4 Head teachers, 3 English as an Additional Language teachers and 5 other Key Informants were conducted. Finally, policy analysis was undertaken, using aspects of Critical Theory to find out how teachers’ attitudes correspond to the attitudes expressed in education policy, as well as what is the impact of educational policy on these attitudes.

The findings suggest that there is no one definition of the study’s central concepts to which all teachers can ascribe. Whether or not teachers take up issues of discrimination and difference depends more on their own dispositions and characteristics rather than on any official policy, of which they are largely unaware. Teachers’ prior knowledge, attitudes to diversity and personal experiences of discrimination influenced their commitment for social justice and exercising agency in practice. Structural and institutional boundaries placed on teachers acted as either directions, limits, opportunities or enablers. These related to the leadership within the school more than from the local authority, and included the influence of various actors within the school context. Finally, the translation of policy ideals into everyday school life was seen as uncertain, as it depends on a number of actions and interpretations within any school context.

This study concludes by comparing teacher’s perspectives on critical multicultural practice with policies on racial equality in Scotland, to demonstrate which areas need most bridge-building if policy and practice are to be more closely aligned.

Declaration of Own Work

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is original and composed by myself.

I further declare that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Ania Byerly

Date: _____

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Chapter 1

Introduction

As means of introduction I will first situate myself in the field of multicultural and antiracist education, as the path I have followed reflects this study's approach to the topic. My journey to understand multicultural and antiracist education began when I was a student teacher in Poland. I grew up in the capital city of an all-white, homogenous country, where issues of ethnicity, racism, or even religious or linguistic diversity were never discussed. There was no need. We were all the same, we all spoke one language, looked similar, were raised Catholic, knew our history and did not question our future. The historical multiculturalism of pre-war Poland was long gone. The few remaining pockets of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity, located on the borderlands, were either marginalised, invisible to the majority of Poles, or subject to overt discrimination. Nationalistic sentiments ran high. Ethnicity was only ever discussed in terms of the aftermath of World War II, the Holocaust, post-war redrawing of the borders and the exile of many Polish families to Soviet territories. Minority ethnic people living in Poland until the end of the 1980s existed in the common consciousness as not so different from the rest, assimilated, sharing our language, yet still discriminated against, widely associated with negative stereotypes of their respective heritage cultures. Racism was not even acknowledged as an issue, despite the Polish Constitution outlawing discrimination of minority groups and guaranteeing protection from assimilation. Life was simple and monocultural.

With the opening of markets after 1989 and the fall of Communism, visibly different students and economic migrants started arriving from countries such as Vietnam, Nigeria, Algeria and China. Warsaw was, and still is, the main hub of immigration, and although by the mid-2000s the numbers were small in the scale of the whole country, the face of minorities had started to change. Black and brown people were becoming our doctors, exotic restaurants started popping up around the city, and for the first time ever, there were children in our schools who did not speak any Polish. Teachers were confused, not knowing where to turn for help.

In 2005, in the fourth year of my five-year Master's degree in Pedagogy, I spent one semester studying in Ireland, on an EU Socrates Erasmus student mobility programme. Inspired by my experiences in Irish multicultural classrooms, witnessing primary teachers' efforts to include, respect, and draw from minority ethnic children in their schools, I became interested in the field of multicultural and intercultural education. Drawing first from the works of Polish researchers (Lewowicki, 1995, 2000, 2002; Nikitorowicz, 1995, 1997, 2005) and then turning to Irish intercultural education policies, I studied the differences between multicultural and intercultural approaches. As a result, in 2006, I conducted research for a Master's dissertation, a comparative study of 18 Polish and 18 Irish primary school teachers' practical approaches to teaching minority ethnic pupils. I was also interested in exploring the degree to which primary curricula reflected the aims of intercultural education, in a belief that intercultural education in the context of a multicultural school should permeate classroom practice.

This exploratory study led me to move to Scotland, to study another educational context with more experience of multiculturalism than my home country. As I learned about the Scottish context and its 'Race Relations' legislation, I grew increasingly interested in whether teachers conceptualised multicultural and antiracist education similarly or differently to what is called intercultural education in so many other European contexts. Moreover, the claimed Scottish belief in egalitarianism and open commitment to equality has been described as not supported by evidence (Craig, 2003), which suggests that it is worthwhile to investigate whether equality is visible and/or promoted in the practices of primary schools.

This study concerns 9 Scottish primary school teachers and their understandings of educational responses to cultural pluralism and all of its social consequences. It aims to explore teacher perspectives on the conceptualisations and practices of multicultural and antiracist education, in the pursuit of education for social justice and racial equality. There is a need to briefly explain the choice of terminology used throughout this study.

1.1 Conceptual concerns, legislative background and issues of terminology: identifying research gap

Diversity, inclusion, exclusion and discrimination are closely linked in a multicultural community or society. Central issues of concern in this study fall on a background of opportunities as well as challenges that ethnic and cultural diversity bring into Scottish society and its schools. These need to be approached in accordance with the law and look for support in it. In Scotland, legislative bases of the equality agenda originate in the Parliaments of both the United Kingdom and Scotland. Devolution gives Scotland powers in the fields of education, training, social work, health and local government, among others. Yet legislation in the areas of employment, immigration, nationality, and social security comes from Westminster as the UK Parliament has the power to legislate for Scotland in these areas. Therefore, issues of equal opportunities, even though listed in the Scotland Act 1998 as a reserved matter, are in fact a split responsibility, as they are interwoven in a variety of aspects of the state's functioning. Concentrating on Scottish education, a devolved matter, involves considering influences, political thought and legislation originating in both parliaments, as well as some common historical developments of multicultural and antiracist theories, despite differences in demographical compositions of the nations of the United Kingdom.

Since the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, a few key pieces of legislation have helped make the language of racial equality more visible in Scottish educational policy. Every school now has a duty to promote 'good race relations', although it remains unclear what exactly this might mean. Also, as a result of the Equality Act 2010, local authorities now require every school to have a standalone antiracist policy. But to what extent is that a paper exercise is a question worth asking. There is a danger of an assumption that since teachers are now educated about 'equalities', they will, as a matter of fact, embed them into their practice. Is this really so?

The Equality Act 2010 is based on the notion that people possess a number of 'protected characteristics' and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, disability, sexual orientation, age, religion and belief. Yet in terms of school practice, teachers often must choose

which dimension of social justice is most relevant for their pupils to explore, treating social justice as add-on issues: should they do a project on homophobia, poverty or racism? This study poses the question of whether the efforts to tackle various aspects of social injustice and inequality embedded within the curriculum, or is the Scottish education system asking its teachers to act on their own private hierarchy of interests, or respond solely to some identified needs?

In this context, a specific understanding of what 'race' equality actually means to teachers is not clear and requires investigation, in both the language of policies and those of whole school approaches and classroom practices. This gap has been identified in literature about 'race' equality in Scotland, especially relating to teachers' theoretical understandings of multicultural and antiracist education and their impact on practice.

In developing the proposal for this study, I encountered a plethora of concepts, terms and theoretical approaches to multiculturalism and antiracism in Scotland. As I explored their many facets, I could not help but wonder if teachers are not puzzled by the terminology, too. Acknowledging both the devastating impact of systemic racial inequality, and the wide-ranging benefits of cultural diversity for a just and harmonious society, seemed to me to only be possible as a result of a serious, deep engagement with the principles of social justice. Teachers must consider its multidimensional, often contextualised nature (Young, 1990; Fraser, 1997; Gewirtz, 2006) on concrete examples, relatable to their lives and experiences. In searching for some common framework for understanding social justice in education, I explored the principles of social cohesion, equality, justice, global citizenship, human rights, education for peace and many other angles through which to address cultural diversity and racial inequality in education. But I found I was beginning to lose myself in the number of possible ways of talking about these issues.

Therefore, for the purpose of clarity, I decided to settle on using some of the key terms found in the Scottish education policy context, through the duration of this study. These are:

- Education for ‘race’ equality - understood as the broadest possible way of talking about tackling racism and other types of oppression and discrimination, while also valuing the diversity present in society. Education for racial equality is another, though less common in schools, way to phrase this.
- Multicultural and antiracist education – understood as close to the above explanation, but originating in the historical educational discourses, open to academic and public debate. Putting the two terms together was meant to draw attention to the mutuality of difference/discrimination relationships, best illustrated in the theory of Critical Multiculturalism, which has been applied in the data analysis stage of this study.

The above, and other terms, are discussed in much more detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis. It is also imperative to state that I take particular care about the use of the term ‘*race*’. It is written in inverted commas to stress that the concept itself does not have a claim to validity, and to protest its legitimisation through continued use. In this thesis, the term *ethnicity* is preferred as, even though it is also a socially constructed concept, it encompasses a broader set of human identity markers that influence our identity, beyond skin colour or national origins.

Terms such as *diversity* are hard to avoid due to their widespread use, however I try to be specific about what aspect of diversity I consider when using this word. Similarly, *equality* is ever present, but at risk of losing its complexity in favour of *sameness*. Finally, due to the prominent use of terms such as multicultural education and education for ‘race’ equality in Scotland, I decided to abandon the use of *intercultural education* in this thesis. Instead, and to show a difference in the conceptualisation of ‘race’ equality and intercultural education, I turn to use a concept more familiar to British scholars; that is the one of *critical multiculturalism* (May and Sleeter, 2010). This thesis therefore talks about critical multicultural education as the ideal of critical teacher engagement with all aspects of pupil identity, including explicit focus on antidiscrimination.

1.2 Introducing the Research Questions

The main question which this study poses is formulated as follows:

What are the perspectives of Scottish primary school teachers on multicultural and antiracist education?

To consider this question in full, it has been split into four, interconnected levels of inquiry.

The level of teacher professionalism is widely studied in education. It is also the aspect of a teachers' life and role which they are used to being assessed on and talking about. Teacher professional knowledge underpinning their practice also has to be considered from the point of view of 'race' equality: what terms teachers use and operate within, how aware they are of the new Equality legislation and duties placed on schools to tackle racism and other types of discrimination. Teacher professionalism also relates to their role as agents of change in schools, leading to the need to explore whether primary school teachers believe they can use their agency to bring in multicultural and antiracist education to their classroom practice.

It has long been established that *teacher personal beliefs and attitudes* impact on their practice (Cline et al, 2002; Arshad et al, 2005). The attitudes teachers hold towards difference, whether it is cultural, ethnic, religious or linguistic diversity may not be overtly expressed; teachers might not have even examined them enough to be aware of how they position themselves in relation to the Other. What understandings of social justice and equality teachers subscribe to, and if they see a difference between treating everyone the same and treating them equally is often rooted not in their professional practice, but in personal beliefs and dispositions (Lortie, 1975; Knowles, 1992; Gaine, 2001).

In the light of this, questions arise about the *level of engagement with educational policy* amongst teachers. This study explores what is the impact of educational policy on teacher attitudes, to see whether there is a strong correlation between policy and practice, and whether teachers find that policy direction is useful. Teachers have been placed in a position of tension, required to follow certain guidelines and to reach professional standards, but also to exercise

a degree of professional freedom, for example in using the Curriculum for Excellence. This study explored whether 'race' equality policies are similarly known to teachers and considered as guidance for their practice.

The level of practice is the final aspect of this study, which investigates how teacher attitudes, beliefs and understandings of multiculturalism and antiracism, within their societal and policy discourses, impact on their practice. It is recognised that the context of teachers' work may also impact on classroom practices. Therefore, the issues of leadership, support from other staff in school and the effects of whole school approaches to 'race' equality on individual teachers' practice is considered in this study.

Accordingly, four Research Questions were formulated for exploration in this study:

RQ1: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of what is meant by multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

RQ2: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of education policy related to multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

RQ3: What attitudes do teachers have towards cultural diversity in and outside the school?

RQ4: How do teacher understandings, attitudes and beliefs related to the above impact on their practice?

1.3 The importance of the Scottish context

The Scottish population is still mainly white, with only 4% being from minority ethnic groups (Scotland's Census 2011). However, the minority ethnic population is young and diverse, and has increased dramatically in the last two decades. As the 2011 Census delineates, the Asian population is the largest minority ethnic group (3% of the total population) and has seen an increase of one percentage point since 2001. Just over 1% of the population recorded their ethnic group as White: Polish.

In Scottish cities, the percentage of minority ethnic population is much higher than average (12% in Glasgow, 8% in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and 6% in Dundee). These areas also saw the largest increases since 2001 in the proportion of their populations who are from minority ethnic groups. On top of that, 7% of the Scottish population was born abroad.

The composition of Scotland's schools mirrors the changing demography of Scottish society. As the data from the Pupils in Scotland Census 2015 show, 12.9% of pupils were from a minority ethnic background, compared to 6.9% in 2008. This demonstrates that pupil diversity is rising quickly in Scotland's schools, especially in the Early Years and Primary sectors. Pupils' linguistic diversity also becomes increasingly noticeable, with 144 different languages reported in 2015 as the main home language, and an increasing number of pupils developing English language capacities (over 35,000 pupils in 2015), many requiring additional support. The top 5 languages other than English spoken at home in 2015 were Polish, Urdu, Scots, Punjabi and Arabic. At the same time, only 1.6% of Scottish teachers identify themselves as being from a minority ethnic group.

Although it can be argued that there is an increasing need to provide adequate learning experiences to the diversifying pupil population in Scotland, the number of minority ethnic pupils varies greatly between different local authorities and individual schools. Issues of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity may originate from, but are certainly not limited to minority ethnic pupil numbers. For example, religious diversity in Scotland is complex, yet in real terms the non-Christian religious minorities form only 3% of the total population (ONS, 2011). A few areas of concern surface in this context.

Firstly, in the case of a very low or no minority ethnic pupil enrolment in a school, or pupils' complex identities not being recognised, a 'no problem here' approach to multicultural and anti-racist education may surface (Gaine, 1995; Jones, 1999). Secondly, whether there are few or many pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds at school, whether they require any additional language support or not, it is the 'needs, not numbers' principle (Arshad et al, 2005), that should drive teachers' and policymakers' actions. Truly inclusive and equitable education does not depend on numbers.

Thirdly, Arshad et al (2005) argues that:

All Scotland's teachers and all Scotland's pupils need to acquire the skills of living in a society that is diversifying, especially, if at any time they hope to progress in their careers, and move into situations where they adapt to an ethnic profile that differs from what they have known until now. (Arshad et al, 2005:33)

The second part of this quote illustrates why issues of cultural diversity are relevant to everyone. This puts an obligation on educational authorities and on all teachers to be equipped to effectively prepare young citizens for life in a dynamic, diverse and complex society. Lastly, all of the views listed above support the notion that education for 'race' equality requires planning and action here and now, and not someday, when the numbers reach some 'critical point' requiring immediate action (Cline et al, 2002).

However, teachers often claim that they feel unprepared for teaching diverse classrooms (May and Sleeter, 2010). Research also tells us that teacher capacities to understand not only personal but also cultural and structural discrimination (Thompson, 2006) are limited and often not underpinned by theoretical knowledge (Arshad, 2012). Smyth (2004:25) argues that teachers must see education as a way of achieving greater social equality and commit to be part of the solution, by 'sustaining a pedagogical mind set with which to counter the unequal opportunity structures' in society. He goes on to say that 'teachers are central to improving the circumstances of disadvantage' (Smyth, 2004:22) if they engage with social justice in their everyday practice, believing in the power of change they can have for the pupils in their class.

Racism exists in Scotland but has been the target of few research studies in the context of education in recent years (Netto et al, 2001; Arshad et al, 2005). The Scottish Government (and earlier Scottish Executive) commissioned little research to examine how 'race' equality issues are being addressed. Some research findings indicate that good practice in tackling racism and promoting race equality is not consistent across Scotland (HMIE, 2008). In the most recent research examining minority ethnic children's experiences of school in Scotland, Arshad et al (2005) found that challenges which teachers face the most in terms of taking forward issues of justice and 'race' equality pertain to: knowing what to do in the classroom; knowing about their pupils; and knowing about themselves. As teachers conserve the values

of society, examining their own beliefs and values shapes their practice and relationships with their pupils, and this may help teachers move towards adopting more confident, explicitly antidiscriminatory approaches to education for all.

As the paucity of research on racial equality becomes apparent in the Scottish context, it is useful to consider what the political hotspots that concentrate public attention are. The Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014 has taken up very considerable political and social energy, also at the expense of issues of social justice. As the Scottish Government tried to shift its attention back to social justice and inequality, for example through attempting to address the growing gap between rich and poor, the dominance of new constitutional questions about the future of the country itself has again shifted this attention away. Currently, the vision of Scotland being forced to leave the European Union is positioning the political discourse of 2016 within the realm of national identity negotiation, as underpinned by increased racism, xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment. It is more important to consider the limits and opportunities that education and teachers can offer within such discourse.

1.4 Structure of thesis

This thesis is organised in eleven chapters. Chapter 2 explores the main concepts of racial equality and social justice, applying them to education. It consists of a literature review of the main educational answers to pupil diversity and the discrimination they may face at school and in society. I explore the aims of multicultural and antiracist education, Critical Race Theory, Critical Pedagogy, theories of Interculturality and finally Critical Multiculturalism. A review of relevant educational research on the topic is conducted, with a focus on the Scottish context, aiming to shine a light on the issue of who takes responsibility for 'race' equality in the practice of Scottish schools.

Chapter 3 consists of an overview of Scottish 'equalities' legislation and policy contexts. I explore the documents and events which have shaped education policy in this field in the last few decades. The role of local educational authorities is explored in terms of their policy

influence on schools and teachers, before considering the role of school-level policies in affecting teacher practice.

In chapters 4 and 5 I present the epistemological and methodological underpinnings of this study. Chapter 4 deals with Interpretivism, Social Constructionism and Critical Realism as the main theoretical lenses used in this research. Chapter 5 outlines the study's research design, with a nested case study approach organising the setting and choice of participants. Methods of data collection: interviews with teachers and other school staff, as well as observations and documentary analysis, are described in detail, before providing a rationale for choosing the specific research questions guiding this study. Step by step approach to data analysis is presented, including the formulation of codes, categories and themes into research findings. The active nature of meaning production and the need for reflexivity are stressed throughout the two chapters.

Presentation of findings follows in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. Each chapter forms a case study of one primary school, located in its unique context. The four Findings chapters follow the same structure. I begin by introducing the reader to each school's geographical and social context, including its pupil population characteristics. After introducing research participants, I turn my attention to school-level 'race' equality (or other equality-related) policy documents. Next, the findings are presented under three overarching themes of: teacher characteristics and dispositions; structural boundaries, and policy-practice relationships.

The Findings chapters are discussed in a cross-case analysis in Chapter 10. This chapter aims to address the study's research questions by juxtaposing teachers' perspectives and those of academic discourses of multicultural and antiracist education. I point out similarities and differences between teachers' viewpoints and offer suggestions about their origins. Practices are compared across settings, with attention also paid to conflicts within settings.

The concluding Chapter 11 brings together the main research findings, discussing the place of 'race' equality within the curriculum, main challenges which teachers face in engaging with this line of work in the Scottish context, and the relationship between school leadership and

teacher autonomy. This thesis ends by considering implications for central and local governments, teachers, children and their families, and a final reflection on my study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on multicultural and antiracist approaches to cultural pluralism, applying those theories to education. I begin with outlining the discourse of assimilation and integration of minorities into society, juxtaposed by multicultural and antiracist responses to diversity, prejudice and discrimination. Theories of multiculturalism, Critical Race Theory, Critical Pedagogy, Interculturalism, and finally Critical Multiculturalism, are interrogated. I explain that this study draws from a number of concepts and educational concerns that those theories draw attention to. I then demonstrate how the theories of intercultural education and critical multiculturalism can be applied to the context of Scottish primary schools. The central role of teachers is underlined in the later parts of this chapter, as I present the challenges Scottish teachers face in their practice, exemplified by empirical research. The rationale for undertaking this study is outlined as a gap in the literature is identified. I close this chapter by offering a link between the current state of education for racial equality in Scottish primary schools and the place and nature of ‘race’ equality legislation and its educational policy landscape, which is then presented in Chapter 3.

2.2 Exploration of assimilationist, integrationist, multicultural and antiracist approaches to cultural pluralism

Changes in patterns of worldwide migration lead to public debates on how the concept of *society* is understood. Traditionally, society has been understood through the concepts of groups of people forming collective social structures, usually as a nation, forming nation states. An individual wanting to become part of such collective was expected to *assimilate* to it. The concept of assimilation, first developed by Milton Gordon, continues to influence public debates on responses to multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism, understood simply as the presence of cultural pluralism in a society, continues to be seen as ‘a challenge to the efforts of cultural homogenisation typically undertaken by nation states’ (Bommes, 2005:1). Esser (2001, cited in Bommes, 2005) claims that there is no alternative to assimilation, if migrants want to access education or the labour market of a new country. However, Bommes (2005:1) claims that with the processes of globalisation and the emergence of social structures that transcend state borders, migrants ‘start to orientate themselves towards transnational opportunity structures; the nation state and its classical aim of social integration loses relevance as a frame of action’.

When a society is seen as a differentiated collective of people, issues of social cohesion emerge (Parekh, 2000), especially when discussed through a lens of national or ethnic identity. Byram (2003:59) proposes that those aspects of identity are especially significant in relation to the building and sustaining of nation states, and are ‘reinforced by the politicisation as a nation-state identity’. Issues of loyalty, state security and the building of this elusive, socially cohesive nation, are at stake. Ethnic and national identities are therefore scrutinised, politicised and policed by those in power, socially created and redefined, not only self-ascribed by individuals or groups.

Richardson (2002) presents the ‘hegemonic story’ or a ‘dominant self-understanding’ of Britain as a story of continuity and tradition, not transition. In this sense, he gives validity to the view that assimilation is a general condition for all in any society, exercised through a ‘permanent expectation to control behaviour and actions according to the structural conditions of differentiated social systems (Bommes, 2005:3). Bommes (2005:4) argues that ‘migrants declare their preparation for assimilation by the simple fact of migration itself’, but are usually confronted with social barriers in the process.

Kymlicka (2001) however considers nation a ‘societal culture’, and a ‘context of choice’ for the autonomous individual. Modood (2007:9) suggests that the British self-image of an ‘old country’ is also negotiated by the multiple national identities of each nation in the United Kingdom ‘which allows for a degree of relatively open-ended citizenship and national identities’. This is why Richardson (2002) advocates ‘clarifying the concept of social

cohesion', which in his view 'entails rigorously critiquing, and vigorously replacing, hegemonic pictures of, and hegemonic stories about' Britain. In this view, processes of social cohesion become intricate and multidimensional, underlined by issues of power and privilege, which should be uncovered to expose the role of the state, its politicians and policies, in creating and sustaining certain myths about the state's past and present.

The classic concept of Rawls (1971) 'that state remains neutral between all conceptions of the good', suggests that rising levels of migration should be met by the state's efforts to enable social integration, not assimilation. This is however an unattainable ideal (Apple, 1993). Public discourse led by the European Commission and the European Council in the last few decades is underpinned by acceptance that both the intra-EU migration and the immigration from outside of the EU are permanent aspect of Europe's future. An increased policy focus on the integration and social inclusion of all migrants is therefore advocated (Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), 2007), not as a burden but as a development in social policy that must be embraced. However, wider power relations in contemporary societies, in Europe and beyond, constantly challenge this proposed focus. Neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism, global pressures on the economy and the marketization of education are all examples of powerful forces standing against politics of inclusion and social justice (Apple, 1993).

2.2.1 Multiculturalism in public discourse

According to Modood (2007), the term *multiculturalism* is most often associated in Scotland and the UK with a political accommodation of minority ethnic groups and individuals into a society of shared values, whilst allowing those minorities to retain aspects of their culture, language, customs and so forth, as long as they are roughly in line with the basic tenets accepted widely in the society. It is intended to enable civic integration on the basis of respect for distinct cultural features and identities, deriving from the liberal democratic ideals of individualism and equality, which 'override the assimilation of difference to the majority' (Modood, 2007:6). Recognition, and not elimination, of cultural and other markers of difference is still considered as the basis of multiculturalism (Grant, 2000; Modood, 2007). In

light of this view, ‘migrants should not be asked to give up their distinct cultures’ and states ‘should be open to the idea [of] hyphenated identities (Modood, 2007:31).

Such understanding of multiculturalism is criticised by those who see efforts to preserve distinctive features of people from minority ethnic groups as a threat to equality, ‘social cohesion’ and the notion of a national identity, fearing that affirmation of difference is against the interest of the state. Phillips (2004) suggests that with the support of multicultural policies, ethnic minorities are alienating themselves from society, claiming cultural or religious differences as their excuse. Earlier this year Phillips headed a widely-watched and discussed TV documentary which claimed that British Muslims are turning their back on that ‘British’ part of their identity and that multiculturalism encourages cultural separatism, leading to extremism. His claims, based on social survey research discredited by many as flawed, nevertheless reignited public discourse on whether the politics of multiculturalism are to blame, without problematising the issue of what Britishness might actually mean.

Hammond (2007:2) rejects this critique as ‘a mask for...the maintenance of privilege, xenophobia and racism’, while Gilroy (1992) and Pilkington (2003) talk about ‘cultural racism’ in relation to those who advocate for a ‘nation as a unified cultural unity’ (Gilroy, 1992:87, cited by Pilkington, 2003:167). Rattansi (2011:115) argues that ‘it is the minorities who bear the brunt of rhetorical blandishments to adhere to national values’. This thesis is built on the belief that negotiation of identities can lead to the negotiation and remaking of cultures, including in both the majority and minority groups. However, the mediation of culture and negotiation of identity are highly complex and difficult endeavours, with no guarantee of success, but a history and expectation of much struggle.

The literature on the struggle for social justice is vast. Oliver’s (1990) social and deficit models of difference stem from the work on the discourse of and the rights of people with disability, but are now widely applied in education. Young’s (1990) work on social groups and the politics of difference resulted in a widely discussed typology of oppression, with the categories of exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural domination and violence recognised, discussed and applied across and beyond social studies. Fraser’s (1997) theory of distributive

and recognitional justice is in fact still being developed. Fraser argues that misrecognition is a significant aspect of injustice, however she asserts that the current focus on the politics of identity is actually harmful to social justice endeavours, as it pries attention away from the growing inequality and injustice in terms of wealth, poverty and life chances in a globalised, neo-liberal, market-driven world. Finally, Gewirtz (2006), building on the works of both Young and Fraser, considers contextualised and mediated nature of just practices. She draws attention to the impossibility of purely just actions, claiming that by pursuing one aspect of justice, we inevitably neglect another.

From the discussion so far, it is evident that the pursuit of equality, inclusion of minority groups, and social justice for all is far from easy. Faced with real world challenges of systematic (and systemic) inequality, oppression and powerful safeguarding of privilege in terms of social class, gender, 'race' and ethnicity, sexuality, ability and disability, language, religion and so on, it may seem that some aspects of public discourse of multiculturalism are insufficiently unproblematic. Similarly to Fraser, Rattansi (2011:114) argues for putting a stop to the neglect the economic dimensions of injustice, stating that:

Although the importance of equal life opportunities is always mentioned in governmental documents, little is said about how inequalities in opportunities are to be overcome, and there has been no serious proposals for overall redistribution of wealth and income.

For example, let us take a look at Taylor's (1994, 2000) theories of 'social becoming': of common agency, a society where people listen to and trust each other, which leads to re-evaluating the concepts of citizenship and identity - as mutually influenced in diverse populations, in a continuum of evolution. All this may well be true in some circumstances, or may continue to be a goal of multicultural education, yet the absence of mention of great, systemic barriers to equality and social justice that steer our lives cannot be accepted. Taylor advocates the need to make space for inclusion, and an openness to a two-way process of social integration, stating that multiculturalism 'demands a certain reciprocal commitment' (Taylor, 2000:93) to inclusion and social justice. Yet he does not propose how exactly this openness may be achieved, especially in light of the wider social and global power struggles.

Similarly, Kymlicka (1995:96-97, cited in Modood, 2007:32) calls for a redefinition of ‘what it means to be an American, British and so on’. This process would also require acquisition of certain skills, as well as a development of attitudes by the majority ethnic groups, enabling every person to enact full citizenship in a modern democratic society (Lister, 2000; Modood, 2007; Parekh, 1986, 2000; Taylor, 2000). Without some other, more critical theories to help us envisage how exactly this could work in practice, educators are at a loss. How can teachers and schools influence the critical development of common or national identities, or open and welcoming attitudes to the Other?

The work of Rattansi (2011) is useful in that it critiques the concept of ‘Britishness’ as built around the idea of ‘core values’, of which the history of the nation seems to be most prominent. He proposes we must be highly critical of which histories get told and by whom, so as to not only focus on ‘the positives of a long, complex and contradictory history’, but also critically present and analyse its overt and covert, state-sanctioned and state-led, oppression. He cites Marquand (2011:121) arguing that:

There is also an ugly side to Britishness as well... A conversation on Britishness that ignores the dark side of empire would be a travesty.

Rattansi concludes that ‘it is more productive to admit to a lack of consensus [on a core set of values and one British identity] and to accept that it is not just a strength but positively a requirement for a healthy democracy’ (2011:122).

Many other academics in the field of ‘race’ equality in Britain reject the notion of ‘Fundamental British Values’, which, entirely not unpacked, are being pushed upon teachers to ‘pass on’ to their pupils (especially in English schools: see for example The Runnymede School Report, Alexander et al, 2015). Blommaert (2006:238) discusses ‘inhabited’ and ‘ascribed’ identities to differentiate between positioning oneself and being positioned by others, which is not recognised in official education policy. Consideration of issues of multiple or hyphenated identities emerges in academic research (Modood, 2007; Pilkington, 2003), with only some effect on governmental bodies, for example triggering the change in terminology used for ethnic categorisation in the 2011 Scotland’s Census, which expanded

slightly to include groups of special interest (e.g. Polish and Gypsy/Traveller, positioned within the White category). But for the wider public, Britishness and other categorical groupings remain unquestioned. As a result, public bodies, including schools and teachers, continue to ascribe identities to people unproblematically, stereotypically and almost ‘automatically’, taking for granted that minorities are to be positioned as the Other (Blommaert, 2006). This suggests that too often everyday classroom practices directly contradict Taylor’s ideals of reciprocity. It remains to be asked whether this is due to teachers’ social attitudes to diversity, attitudes expressed in educational policy, the immersion in a dominant discourse of arbitrary ethnic group ascription, or possibly elements of all the above.

Although the literature presented so far offered some glimpses into a multicultural approach to diversity, there is a need to further problematise it. I will now turn to literature which makes links between multiculturalism, socio-economic inequalities and the issues of power, dominance and oppression, with a view to apply them in education. There is a range of theories which argue that cultural pluralism must be connected with issues of ‘race’, racism and oppression, going beyond the privileging of personal views and challenging structural inequalities (Parekh, 2000). What they all have in common is a commitment to explicit antiracism, although the centrality of their arguments may rest on different tenets. The next sections of this chapter will cover key literature in the areas of Critical Race Theory, Critical Pedagogy, Intercultural Education and Critical Multiculturalism.

2.2.2 Antiracism in public discourse

As equality and equity are fundamental features in liberal democratic societies, ‘racial discrimination [must no longer be] seen as a comparatively minor problem [but] as a challenge for society as whole’ (Parekh, 2000:100). Antiracism aims to emphasise the dichotomies of equality/inequality, social inclusion/exclusion and justice/injustice in every aspect of social and institutional behaviour, advocating a critical analytical viewpoint. However, structural and institutional oppression, persisting on multiple levels of social life, presents many and often unbreakable obstacles to equity and social justice. Antiracism is therefore also directed at

exposing, uncovering and breaking down structural inequity and oppression, challenging entrenched prejudice and discrimination.

Antiracist scholarship and practice operates, however, within the context of unbalanced power relations, where the interest of groups of people in position of power is to retain such lack of balance. For example, state politics of redistribution may be described as antidiscriminatory, aiming at ensuring *equality of opportunity* for all. However, it often ends there, *equal outcomes* are not guaranteed in the process. In fact, Critical Race Theorists such as Edward Taylor (2009) claim that state politics of equal opportunity benefit the already privileged, white majority. They do so by implicitly promoting the myth of merit and the rule of colour blindness, which is dangerous as it further makes white privilege invisible. Young (1990) also distinguishes between ‘equality which comes from an impartial and consistent application of a single set of rules’, and rules ‘that do not disadvantage the different parties to whom they are applied’ (cited in Modood, 2007:53).

Even if issues of ethnic diversity, disadvantage and discrimination are today increasingly seen as complementary (Parekh, 2000; Pilkington, 2003), there is still a long way to go. From the 1980s onwards, the agenda of antiracism gained recognition in Britain, as there has been a shift in the perception of the significance of racism in society, especially since the Macpherson Report (1999) introduced the concept of *institutional racism* to British public consciousness. Critical Pedagogy, developed by Freire in 1970s, has been embraced and further developed across the globe, being applied by some in British and Scottish education (its main arguments will be discussed later in this chapter). In the USA, Critical Race Theory developed from critical legal studies in the late 1970s and entered social science and educational research in the 1990s. It is still mainly prominent in the USA, however it is also gaining ground internationally. Again, it will be discussed in more detail in later sections of this chapter. What is important now to acknowledge is the growing presence of critical theoretical thought, which challenges and aims to deconstruct the hidden power relations and not so hidden injustices of any society.

Antiracist initiatives must be directed towards a change of social attitudes at large, by challenging all three levels of personal, cultural and structural/institutional racism (Thompson, 2006). The commitment to addressing all those levels has been acknowledged in Scotland since around the time of Devolution. For example, it was recognised by the then Scottish Office (1998), which published a report on *Valuing Diversity - Having Regard to the Racial, Religious, Cultural and Linguistic Needs of Scotland's Children*; the Macpherson Report (1999), which challenged Scotland to address institutional racism; and the Scottish Executive (2000), which set out *An Action Plan for Scotland* resulting in a number of initiatives designed to practically tackle racism in Scotland. A more detailed presentation of policies and initiatives relating to Scottish education will be presented in Chapter 3.

At the same time, racism continues to be negated by the powerful, with a vested interest in maintaining racial inequality, in a similar fashion to how social class inequality is being maintained by conservative political powers. Denying that racism is real remains a challenge to be addressed not only in relatively homogenous societies, but also in countries built on colonialism. In the field of Scottish education, where diversity is on the increase in most schools, questioning the relevance or even existence of racism, and the need to teach antiracism and antidiscrimination explicitly, persists as a significant obstacle to advancing racial equality (Gaine, 2005; Netto et al, 2001; Arshad et al, 2005; Arshad, 2012c).

2.2.3 Tensions between multicultural and antiracist education, and a need for an explicitly critical approach

Modood and May (2001:305) debate ‘contending educational theories of multicultural and antiracist education’, commenting on the ‘fracturing’ of the discourse on ‘race’, cultural diversity and education. They reflect that:

In retrospect, each of these positions can be seen to embody partial truths, but neither is adequate to the complex contemporary situation of Britain’s racial minorities. The emergence of a Muslim assertiveness, polarized qualification levels, new feminist interventions, and the wide appeal of black youth culture all challenge earlier notions of multiculturalism and anti-racism. (Modood and May, 2001:305)

The above quotation suggests that there is a need for more critically oriented theories to be considered as potentially useful underpinnings of educational research in the area of responding to cultural pluralism. To take this line of thought further, I will side with May (2014:128) who advocates ‘overcoming disciplinary boundaries [and] connecting language, education and (Anti)racism’. May decries the historical ‘paradigm wars and a related unwillingness to engage constructively across disciplinary and topic boundaries’ (2014:129), building his case on the example of a ‘paradigm war’ between multicultural and antiracist education in the 1980s Britain. He contends that despite contributing to the critique of ‘liberal multiculturalism’, the episode ‘contributed eventually to the wider political and academic marginalisation within Britain of both multicultural *and* antiracist education’ (May, 2014:129; see also Modood, 2007; Modood and May, 2001)

Perhaps it would be useful at this point to turn to ask how the aims of Scottish education relate to the debates presented so far. Much research has been completed (see for example Paterson, 2001; the *Inquiry into the Purposes of Scottish Education*, CERES, 2002; and Munn et al, 2004), with many more philosophical papers written on the topic. Unfortunately there is not enough space in this chapter to discuss this area in any depth. However, in the context of debates about multicultural and antiracist education, or education for ‘race’ equality, I can offer a few relevant views. Lynch described the context of education in a contemporary pluralist society in 1986 as follows:

Schools fulfil their functions of educating children towards two major goals, those of the maintenance of *social cohesion* and those associated with encouragement of *cultural diversity*. It will be apparent that without education towards social cohesion society would disintegrate. Yet, without the opportunity for cultural diversity within a pluralist society there would inevitably be discontent, alienation and possibly revolution. The dilemma, therefore, which education in a multicultural society faces, is how to reconcile the often competing aims within these overall goals, and to express them in the very core of its cultural transmission: its schools. (Lynch, 1986:10-11)

In this study, I explore whether for Scottish teachers, who are part of an educational system in a context of a country in which there are different ‘ways of being British’ (Pilkington, 2003:250) and where ‘the Scots are themselves a minority within a multinational state’ (Grant, 2000:3), Scottishness and wider identity issues should be included on the schools’ agendas. I

also explore whether teachers acknowledge the importance of teaching all children about diversity, privilege, discrimination and how to tackle it. Grant calls multicultural education ‘untidy and messy, [much as] living in a multicultural society [is]’ (Grant, 2000:65). How can schools therefore play their role in creating an equitable and inclusive society? Parekh asks us to refer to less pragmatic and more philosophical dimensions of education, and claims that:

The case for multicultural education can easily be made. If education is concerned to develop such basic human capacities as curiosity, self-criticism, capacity for reflection, ability to form an independent judgment, sensitivity, intellectual humility and respect for others, and to open the pupil’s mind to the great achievements of mankind, then it *must* be multi-cultural in orientation. (Parekh, 1986:28-29)

30 years have passed, and it seems that even though the debates on community cohesion have now passed, the more recent pace of change towards antiracist practices has now been lost (Arshad, 2008a). The most recent review of Scottish teacher education (*Teaching Scotland’s Future*, Scottish Government, 2011) has outlined recommendations about various aspects of teacher professionalism, continued development, and outlined the need for a wider curricular focus than is currently offered in Initial Teacher Education, to allow future teachers to consider not only didactics and methodology of teaching, but also its sociological and philosophical foundations. However, as Smyth (2013) observes,

Neither the report nor the government response made mention of what ‘Scotland’s Future’ might look like and the author argues that teaching in this future will need to evolve to be more responsive to linguistic and cultural diversity in the schools of Scotland. (Smyth, 2013:72)

Today’s schools must also resist the assertion that multiculturalism without explicit antiracism is appropriate for schools with little ethnic diversity (Arshad, 2012c), or that ‘it is discriminatory to see difference’ (Arshad, 2012c:199). Schools and teachers have not all yet come to terms with the idea that multicultural and antiracist education might be actually leading in the same direction. Gillborn (1995:6) observes that ‘antiracist approaches are commonly contrasted with multicultural strategies, where the latter are criticised for a narrow focus on curriculum content and “positive images” which do not engage with questions of power and racism in interpersonal and institutional contexts’. Yet ethnocentrism and

educational nationalism, which are often employed to help children feel they belong (Tomlinson, 2008) are also not the answers. Pilkington (2003) however argues that as globalisation increasingly dissolves boundaries, international influences take part in shaping people's national, ethnic and cultural identities, dismissing a critique of multiculturalism as ignoring intra-cultural and inner-group differences and as such essentialising cultures.

The terminology used while dealing with the issues of cultural diversity and the responses to it at social, legislation, policy and practice levels is as complex as the issues themselves. 'Race' is being interwoven with ethnicity, nationality, colour, language and identity, multiculturalism with antiracism, but it is worth asking whether those concepts have been sufficiently interrogated by the teaching profession itself. Arshad et al (2005) suggest that there is plenty misconceptions, misunderstandings and a general feeling of lack of confidence in approaching this area in education. Academic literature as much as educational policy and practice illustrates how complex and diverse understandings of issues gathered under a term such as '*race*' equality can be. There is however a paucity of research in how teachers understand those concepts, as well as how they perceive it is possible to enact their principles in Scottish schools.

This study is built on the belief that critical multiculturalism and antiracism can sit together in responding to cultural pluralism in society. I find that these two concepts are interdependent, not contradictory, and 'essentially the same thing at bottom, if intelligently organised' (May, 1999, cited in Grant, 2000:48). They must also both be applied to education, as 'a viable multicultural education cannot be advocated without a central core commitment to anti-racism' (Lynch, 1986:54).

2.2.4 The relevance of Critical Race Theory

Richardson (2002:48) suggests that 'teachers' basic task has always been to hold a balance between treating pupils equally and understanding the unique identity, experiences, and life stories of each, and of the communities they belong', which suggests that even if ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic diversity is on the increase, as these are elements making up a

child, teachers must consider and include them their task of education for all. ‘Colour blind’ approaches and institutional racism started being challenged with the arrival of the Labour Government in 1997, although assimilationist practices are still present in some schools today. The Macpherson Report (1999) ‘explicitly calls on the education system from pre-school upwards to have specific and coordinated action to raise awareness about racism and to promote a greater valuing of diversity’ (Macpherson, 1999: Chapter 6). This is no easy task.

The historical focus on addressing underachievement of minority ethnic pupils is no longer the only answer to targeting racial inequality, as it has been called ‘a myth’ by Mirza over two decades ago (Mirza, 1995). Presently, the picture of minority ethnic pupils’ achievement is not straightforward when compared with the white Scottish majority, but it is not all doom and gloom (Scotland’s Census 2011). The Scottish Government (2013:13) seems pleased to report (citing The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2011) that:

Strong educational attainment among ethnic minority pupils may have been facilitated by active promotion of ‘race’ equality in schools, and by improving teachers’ ability to respond to specific individual needs (e.g. teaching of English as a second language, and intolerance of racial bullying).

However, the little evidence there is, coming directly from schools, challenges such a positive picture of reported ‘active promotion of race equality in schools’ – on the contrary, teachers are still often uneasy and unwilling to talk about ‘race’ (Hopkins et al, 2015). The growing number of reported racist incidents in schools also raises the question of whether attainment and achievement should still be the main focus of minority ethnic pupils’ education. Therefore, while the achievement of minority ethnic children and young people continues to be monitored by education authorities and the schools themselves, enabling the provision of targeted support where needed, the focus of multicultural and antiracist education should shift and be debated by teachers in a more critical, systemic and institutional manner.

Notably, the same Scottish Government report (2013:13) states that monitoring of attainment by ethnicity is problematic, as:

Data on ethnicity remain incomplete as it is not compulsory for parents to disclose ethnicity information. It is therefore difficult accurately to compare attainment levels of pupils based on ethnicity. At present, there is also no analysis of educational achievement that takes account of the length of time each pupil has been resident in the UK or the pupil's fluency in English.

Lack of policy solutions to monitoring the degree to which equal opportunity can translate to equal outcomes in schools, coupled with invisibility of racial oppression and discrimination built into the system may result in a reversion from the politics of multiculturalism and antiracism to a British version of 'integration' - the 'social cohesion' problematic, as described in earlier sections. Pilkington (2003) describes this backward shift as a result of perceiving antiracism as problematic, damaging, extreme and too political. This applies also to teachers, who find it challenging to take an overtly political stance in schools. Racial equality issues therefore are not popular on the educational agenda, while multiculturalism is often seen through a deficit lens, with the creation of segregated language learning units and peripheral attention to cultural aspects of identity, excluding all antiracist elements (Grant, 2000; Pilkington, 2003). Tomlinson (2008) claims that when racial, ethnic and religious segregation in schools is increasing, issues of minority pupil underachievement are seen both as a reason and a result of such segregation, being attributed to the minority groups themselves, in a 'blame the victim' fashion.

To analyse the issue of education of minority ethnic children more productively, let us turn to lessons to be learned from Critical Race Theory (CRT).

One of the basic principles of CRT is recognition that society *must* accept 'racism as ordinary' (Taylor, 2009:4), normal and 'natural' in the society (Delgado, 1995). Moreover, racism needs to be seen in terms of 'a global White supremacy' (Mills, 1997:3, in Taylor, 2009:4), which, 'because it is all-encompassing and omnipresent, (...) cannot be easily recognised by its beneficiaries' (Taylor, 2009:4), therefore needs 'unmasking and exposing' (Ladson-Billings, 2009:21).

Studies on Whiteness tell us that 'Whiteness is not a culture but a social concept, (...) a racial discourse' (Leonardo, 2002:32), with a deep rooted, invisible status. Whiteness feeds into the

discourse of denying contemporary racism, unwillingness to name how racism operates in the society, 'othering' ethnicity as a minority (somebody else's) attribute vis-à-vis the naturalisation of whiteness; and undermining the present effects of historical racism and oppression, including the legacy of slavery. Giroux (1997) and Youdell (2004) talk about Whiteness as a performance, in that 'whiteness is both invented and used to mask its power and privilege' (Giroux, 1997:102, cited by Gillborn, 2009:55). But the performers of whiteness are usually not aware of their role in the performance. Hence the need for deconstruction of White privilege and racial inequity.

Critical Race Theorists position 'race' and identity very closely together. Citing Youdell's (2004) work, Gillborn argues that 'certain identities are strengthened and legitimized through countless acts of reiteration and reinforcement' (Gillborn, 2009:55). Authors such as Bell Hooks (1989), Sleeter, (1993), Leonardo (2009) and Gillborn, (2009, 2015) write on the issues of White privilege, White Supremacy and White racial domination, showing their relevance to all aspects of life, including education. For Leonardo (2009), White supremacy is not a rare, extreme, hate group ideology, but a widespread discourse, visible in all social life, including in educational policy and practice. Reinforcement of the 'innocence of whiteness' is seen in textbooks and policy, and needs to be opposed, by learning about and exposing the 'active role of whites' in creating and sustaining white privilege and domination. (Leonardo, 2009:262). Whiteness as a 'normal' frame of reference has been first described and challenged by McIntosh (1988), and since through the work on White teachers in multiethnic schools (see for example Howard, 2016; Marx, 2006, and Pearce, 2005).

CRT advocates the use of storytelling, narrative, autobiography and parable 'as ways to expose and challenge social constructions of race' (Taylor, 2009:8), and further dispute treating White perspective as the truth, and not the very subjective viewpoint and opinion we are all entitled to (Delgado, 1995; Taylor, 2009). Critical Race Theorists retell the experiences of oppressed people to demonstrate the critical relevance and consequences of racism in today's societies. Such experiential knowledge of being the Other 'add[s] necessary contextual contours to the seeming "objectivity" of positivist perspectives' (Ladson-Billings, 2009:22).

As Ladson-Billings points out:

Despite the scientific refutation of race as a legitimate biological concept and attempts to marginalize race in much of the public (political) discourse, race continues to be a powerful *social* construct and signifier. [However,] thinking of race strictly as an ideological concept denies the reality of a racialized society and its impact on people in everyday lives. On the other hand, thinking of race solely as an objective condition denies the problematic aspects of race – how to decide who fits into which racial classifications. (2009:18)

This is a crucial dilemma to understand: despite accepting that ‘race’ does not in fact exist, the constant racializing of individuals and groups means that ‘our conceptions of race are more embedded and fixed’ than in the past, and ‘whiteness is positioned as normative’. (Ladson-Billings, 2009:18-19). CRT is therefore seen as:

An important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power. (Ladson-Billings, 2009:19)

The role of education in reproducing or interrupting current practices, through concentrating on the issues of power and privilege, is widely discussed in this tradition of thought. Gillborn (2009:63) points attention to the need to ‘disrupt common-sense assumptions shaping education’, and to concentrate on ‘racism in the mainstream and seeing ‘race’ and racism not as fringe questions but as a volatile presence at the very centre of British politics, actively shaping and determining the history not simply of blacks, but of this country as a whole.’ (Gilroy, 1992:52, cited by Gillborn, 2009:57). As such, it is claimed that ‘racism requires sweeping changes’, not incremental ones, which result in a ‘painstakingly slow process’ which does not necessarily lead to change (Ladson-Billings, 2009:22). She also critiques liberalism as not having the right tools to bring in radical changes required.

In education, questions need to be asked about positionality (Taylor, 2009). For example, whose conception of knowledge are teachers expected to represent? Apple (1993:223) discusses the concepts of ‘universal knowledge’ and the ‘official curriculum’ from a perspective of social justice, pointing out how one, elite, powerful social group’s ‘tastes and values’ become ‘markers of people’ in all others, subordinate groups. This way ‘the school

becomes a class school' Apple (1993:223) Moreover, because the way the reality is interpreted depends on what group you represent, positionality in terms of class, 'race' etc 'must be disclosed' (Taylor, 2009:8). It is evident that CRT is applicable within education beyond its central focus on racial inequality, for example through 'intersectionality of subordination, including gender, class and other forms of oppression' (Taylor, 2009:9), and the 'questioning dominant notions of meritocracy, objectivity and knowledge' (Taylor, 2009:10). Last but not least, CRT proposes 'a dose of racial realism' – even if the struggle against oppression does not change much, it is still a fight worth fighting, as the act of resistance itself bears witness to our humanity, and our courage may inspire our students. As Taylor (2009:11-12) puts it: strength and empowerment come from 'a refusal to stay silent'.

To summarise, it is evident that many aspects of Critical Race Theory can be applied in studies on multiculturalism in education. Policy and practice can be analysed through such lens. Gillborn is one of many British advocates of scrutinising 'the role of education policy in the active structuring of racial inequality' (Gillborn, 2009:51) and white supremacy as 'normalized and taken for granted' (ibid). He argues that new legislation on 'race' equality has always appeared as a result of struggle, conflict, unrest, and 'bloodshed' and not as a linear, rational process. This can clearly be seen in Britain after the publication of the Macpherson Report in 1999, as already discussed. Gillborn asks educational researchers and practitioners to consider whether policy change is always a rational process, with best intentions for all through asking 'who and what is education policy for' (2009:52). He stresses that the issue of outcomes, not intentions, needs to be at the forefront of education policy analysis, and proposes asking the following questions in the process:

- Priorities: who or what is driving the policy?
- Beneficiaries: who wins and who loses as a result of education policy priorities?
- Outcomes: what are the effects of policy? (2009:58)

It is worth also asking whether teachers would agree, upon such critical policy analysis, that there is a 'tacit [racist] intentionality in the system' which promotes policies and strategies that are known to discriminate against minority ethnic pupils, be racially divisive and leading to

disadvantage across racial lines. (Gillborn, 2009:65). There is a need to investigate this issue in Scottish primary schools, especially in the context of The Equality Act 2010, which recognises the requirement to protect minority ethnic pupils from discrimination and disadvantage, listing 'race' as one of the Protected Characteristics.

Curricular issues are also of great relevance in CRT, as it 'sees the official school curriculum as a culturally specific artefact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script' (Ladson-Billings, 2009:29), through 'silencing multiple voices and perspectives, primarily legitimizing dominant, white, upper-class, male voicings as the "standard" knowledge" for all pupils (Swartz, 1992, cited in Ladson-Billings, 2009:29). Ladson-Billings points to the problem of the curriculum being either 'race'-neutral or colour-blind. It is then both a root of the problem and the place to address structural racism. There is a need to further examine whose knowledge Scottish Curriculum for Excellence puts forward, and whose identities it renders invisible.

Amongst other important issues in education for racial equality, Ladson-Billings (2009) list the persistence of deficit views of minorities, where such deficiency is always attributed to the individual. Teacher's pedagogical tools, methods of instruction and assessment, or even adequate school funding, are omitted, contributing to a vicious circle of disadvantage and the reproduction of status quo. Although practical action against racial inequality needs both: exposing racism in the society *and* proposing radical solutions for addressing it, we are reminded that it is a difficult path for teachers to follow, as they are 'running a risk of being permanent outsiders' as education is a 'nice' field after all (Ladson-Billings, 2009:33-34).

Critical Race Theory offers important insights into the structural and institutional, not only interpersonal, aspects of racial inequality and multiple propositions of how to teach all pupils about racism. Tatum (2009:278) draws educators' attention to the fact that such work draws out 'powerful emotional responses' and feelings of 'guilt by association' in White pupils, on realising the pervasiveness of racism. However, she also stresses the need to work on White students' racial identity development, putting forward one model of such process (Helm,

1990), during which the focus on individual racism is abandoned in favour of ‘the recognition of and opposition to the institutional and cultural racism’.

In this section, I have presented a detailed review of Critical Race Theory and its significance for the topic of my study. I would like to close it by offering a view on the potential problem with the use of the concept of ‘race’ itself, still mainly an American phenomenon. Without discrediting the significance of the concept, I admit that my own positionality makes me continuously question the widespread use of it (hence my constant use of the term ‘race’ in inverted commas). As May (2014:129-130) notices, ‘European social theorists have long dispensed with this reified and unscientific concept, most often preferring the more multifaceted nature of ethnicity instead’. Additionally, Ratcliffe (2004) considers how the category of ‘race’ has been unnecessarily and unfortunately legitimised by the prominence of this term in legislation and policy. He stresses the significance of that development, explaining that it undermines the possibility of successful removal or reduction of ‘the social significance attached to difference...to the point where superordinate groups see only diversity’ (Ratcliffe, 2004:23-25). Could and should the category of ‘race’ be easily replaced with ethnicity, a much broader concept, stressing the fact that all people have a cultural heritage. The use of term ethnicity, also in my view, invites considerations about the elements of our cultural heritage, and as May suggested in a quote above, it is a multifaceted phenomenon, including national origin, language, colour, religion, customs, traditions, food and many other, harder to essentialise, elements. Yet as was explained in the earlier sections, the UK sits uncomfortably with the need to critically consider national identity and other hard to define signifiers, where there might not be space for one, easily contained definition. At the same time, the state’s commitment to addressing inequality is strong and as such since the early 2000s the language of ‘*race*’ *equality* has become prominent in Scottish educational policy and practice. As egalitarianism enjoys strong support in Scotland (Pearce, 2003), *equality* may just be the notion which is perceived to be universally accepted, but it is also a safe choice. What it actually means to teachers, who actively interpret and apply their own understandings to education policy, remains unknown. My study aims to fill precisely this gap, by exploring with primary teachers the Scottish discourse of ‘race’ equality: their interpretations of

multiculturalism and antiracism in education, and the meanings they assign to their role in mediating such education policy discourse into classroom practices.

2.2.5 Critical Pedagogy

If teachers are to shift away from a deficit model of difference in their practice, they must first examine their own positionality and identity in relation to their pupils. Teachers must reflect on the potential of power they have to influence all pupils' lives, by either addressing or ignoring and perpetuating the discrimination and racism present in the society and their communities (including the school community). Teachers who are committed to ensuring that all pupils consider issues of racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity as a matter of practice embedded in their regular learning need also a theoretical basis and a practical toolbox for such work. Critical Pedagogy offers both.

In terms of theoretical underpinnings of Critical Pedagogy, its founding father, Freire (1970), envisaged education as a place and means of helping the oppressed regain their humanity. Writers such as Apple, Giroux and McLaren have become advocates of 'radical democracy', explicitly opposing neo-liberal social values and disrupting neo-liberal practices and outcomes of schooling. Apple (1993) argues for the need to uncover ideological and political nature of 'universal knowledge', wider power struggles of the curriculum and the marketization of education in a globalised knowledge economy. Giroux (1997) puts forward the idea of 'new media' effectively colonising education in the globalised world, calling for the recognition of what mass media, neo-liberal politics and educational forces of global cultures do to our schools. Such 'public pedagogy' (Biesta, 2012) is centralised on common core standards which only reinforce oppressive power of the elites and the rapidly growing consumerism in education.

Drawing from the CRT's notion of performative nature of identity, McLaren (1986) described schooling as a 'ritual performance', advocating that it is the role of educators to help their pupils disrupt the hegemonic scripts of schooling. However, their first step is to use their own agency to redefine the meaning of liberation and empowerment, and to stand up to racist, sexist

and class-based oppression (to name but a few elements). Thinkers such as Archer (2000) and Butler (1997) also developed the theories of human agency, to enable a liberation of oppressed, often ascribed, identities. McLaren and Lankshear, amongst others, further developed Critical Literacy as means to challenging oppression through education, with pupil agency a key requirement (see Lankshear and McLaren, 1993). This has since been applied in many schools, from media studies to critical analysis of textbooks contents. It is characterised by a critical look underneath the surface-obvious statements, traditions, pictures, myths, common-sense and official knowledge, to look for their underlying meanings and ideologies.

Critical Pedagogy gave rise to a multitude of critically-oriented practical tools, which could be used in both educational research and praxis. Overtly political in its nature, those practical strategies aim to distribute power more widely and equally within education, and empower children and young people to critically examine their social life, identities, environments, and see them as given, not 'natural', therefore open to change. Critical Literacy, for example, focuses on the analysis of various texts and naming the dominating discourses and unbalance power relations which can be found in them through deep analysis (see for example McNabb, 2006; Lankshear and Knobel, 2002; Lewis, 2001; and Gee, 1996). Agency is still central in this approach, as it gives power and voice to the pupils in the classroom as well as teaching them that they are free to use it.

It is notable that language itself also becomes central in those critical endeavours. Deconstructing text, speech or visuals requires paying special attention to the forms of language used. Analysts of texts search for underlying assumptions and ideologies expressed in seemingly neutral language, and uncover forms of language and persuasion for their hidden agendas and manifestations of subordination/oppression. This process requires not only the awareness of 'metalinguage' and 'metacognition' but also the relation in which the analysts stands to the text – their own positionality, their own identity are important and need to be uncovered (see for example Rapley, 2007; Fairclough, 2003; and Prior, 2003). Critical Literacy skills lead to detailed examination of discourse (and a whole field of Discourse Analysis), which can be applied also in educational policy analysis (Ball, 1990, 1993).

This natural progression towards a scrutiny of language itself has allowed this chapter to consider the links between all the critical theories already discussed and the final area of interest for my study – the one of Interculturalism. I will now move on to review key aspects of the theories of interculturality, their relation to language, ethnicity, ‘race’ and finally education.

2.2.6 Theories of Interculturalism

It would be impossible to offer a neat definition of Intercultural Education, as the concept itself, similarly to multicultural and to antiracist education, can be understood in a plethora of ways. So far, I have presented the literature broadly within critical/cultural studies, and this is the approach I will retain. My approach centres on the earlier discussed notion of identity as performative, and requires unpacking the term ‘culture’ itself. I will do so using Butler’s (1997) idea of agency in everyday life, and the rejection of universal accounts of cultural practices, identities and meanings.

Interculturality suggests a state between cultures, not simply focusing on ‘foreign’ or ‘strange’ aspects of Other cultures. But what is really ‘culture’? Alred et al (2003:2) state that ‘the word “culture” almost replaces “context” in much discourse in education and social sciences’. Being intercultural is described by Alred et al as concerning what happens to people when, having been socialised into group with normalised values, conventions, beliefs and behaviours, a person has an experience with members of other groups ‘which leads them to question these given conventions and values’ as ‘inevitable and natural’(2003:3).

Byram (2003) states that ‘being bicultural’, or ‘intercultural’ is only truly possible in so far as choosing to change one’s behaviour, to adapt to another culture. He claims, however, that the values and beliefs we are socialised into, especially through primary socialisation as children, are likely to stay unchanged. However, social identities are not only formed in the realms of ethnicity or identity, they span many other aspects of social life. Hence, interculturality can be applied beyond multicultural or multiethnic education, or the more popular foreign language learning and linguistic cross-cultural competence.

Intercultural experience, or the experience of Otherness, can help people open up and start questioning the taken for granted values of own in-group. However, the next step to what Alred et al (2003:4) call 'being intercultural' requires an active reflection on the experience, as well as on the relationships between different groups of people, and an ability to act on this reflection. Byram (2003:64-65) explains that 'acting interculturality involves a level of analytical awareness that does not necessarily follow from being bicultural', adding that 'the more experience of other cultures a learner has, the more easily they will see the relativity of their own culture or cultures' (ibid).

As a result, people enhance their own sense of self and self-knowledge, learning not to compare themselves in opposition to the other, but to move the 'centre of interaction' with the other to the borderland, the in-between, the places which 'join them rather than divide them' (Alred et al, 2003:4). Ultimately:

In crossing frontiers externally, the learner has crossed and possibly dissolves frontier within. (...) Frontiers become less barriers and prohibitions and more gateways and invitations' (Alred et al, 2003:5)

This discussion of crossing frontiers and decentring interactions from one viewpoint only, form the very basis of my interest in the topic of this study, which initially developed through the influence of Nikitorowicz's (1995, 1997, 2005) and Lewowicki's (1995, 2000, 2002) work on the Polish borderlands in a geographical and sociological sense. They considered ethnic, national, cultural, religious and linguistic frontiers of Polish North-East, and south-West counties, which changed national borders repeatedly. Kramsch (1998) work on the 'intercultural speaker' relates to the work of Polish sociologists, in that it also considers a language learner, who in the process becomes a mediator of cultural practices. What unites those approaches to interculturality is the common process of progressing from experience of the Other to a reflection upon it, its deep analysis and finally some sort of action.

Education has its role to play in ensuring that intercultural experience is not the end of the route, but it extends to that reflection, analysis and action. Any area and level of education can take this on, especially if it takes a critical outlook and sees its aim to help children question,

analyse, and increase what the authors call 'intercultural competence'. There is no need to limit intercultural education to aspects of language, although it is often where it begins. In going beyond language, we enter the field of communication and creating and sustaining meaningful and positive human relationships.

Experiencing interculturality allows us to challenge our own sense of identity, our assumptions and norms. Recognition of the affective dimension of intercultural experience is important, as the process is not easy. Whether an adult takes a perspective of being a minority in a foreign culture, an undergraduate student has a short-term experience living abroad (Roberts, 2003) or we look through the eyes of children, young people and adults moving abroad permanently (Byram, 2003), it is clear that Interculturalism is challenging.

A lot of the literature intercultural competence, or intercultural communicative competence (see Byram, 2003) and on intercultural understanding (see Bredella, 2003) is relevant to the idea of negotiating all learners' identities through intercultural experiences and reflections (Weber, 2003). However, the notion of lasting change in a bicultural or intercultural identity is challenged by Byram (2003) and Paulston (1992). Both claim that the affective aspect of reflecting on own complex identity, on being 'between cultures', or being 'two people' is so strong, that it often results in a person hiding the Other aspects of their identity from members of one group, to seem as they belong to that group (and that group only). This is only possible in so far as their linguistic competence is deemed to be of a native; or within the sphere of behaviours, but that accommodating conflicting values and beliefs is much harder, if not impossible.

Byram (2003:60) considers 'whether becoming intercultural involves a change in identity as well as a change in attitudes' and claims that:

Being bicultural suggests (...) that having two cultural/ethnic identities is difficult, though not impossible. Even though being bicultural in this sense entails holding in one person conflicting values and beliefs, it can be done if the surrounding society allows it. However, the difficulty of being 'two people' has become evident and the less demanding option of being able to adapt to different behaviour is perhaps more common. (ibid)

However, a change in attitudes may follow a critical reflection on an intercultural experience. An analysis of that experience, if scaffolded by teachers for pupils in class, may lead to a critical questioning of own attitudes, the de-centring of own, 'natural' viewpoint and questioning long held, often unconscious assumptions and attitudes towards the Other. The aim of such intercultural experience is therefore to uncover the socially produced nature of our norms, values and beliefs, as well as behaviours, similarly to what Critical Race Theory advocates. This understanding is necessary for further work to uncover the systematic, organisational, structural, or any other wider socially-grounded discourses of power and privilege, which are usually hidden: in the curriculum, in textbooks and other teaching resources, in the pedagogies used by teachers, or in the language used in education policy documents and the vernacular of our classrooms. It is important to recognise the centrality of the role of teachers in those endeavours (Verma and Papastamatis, 2007).

My research aims to examine whether teachers see themselves fulfilling that role. Do teachers in Scottish primary schools feel confident in navigating and challenging the dominant discourses of power and privilege? To what extent do they know their pupils, and help them examine their own complex identities? Do teachers think that work with the White majority pupils needs to include knowing about Whiteness and privilege? I am interested in seeing how much identity negotiation is in fact taking place in the primary classrooms which form the research cases in this study – do teachers know how to go beyond nationalistic aspects of identity formation? In relation to all of the above, the uncoupling of linguistic and cultural competencies, advocated by Zarate (2003), is a choice I made in order to complete a thesis concerning how ordinary primary school teachers approach issues of multiculturalism and antiracism with all their pupils, especially the White majority. However, language learning and language use is ever-present in this study. Even though this study does not seek to include perspectives of the children, it is heavily influenced by the presence and discussion of teaching of children who are multilingual and/or have English as an Additional Language.

2.2.7 Intercultural Education and Critical Multiculturalism

The building blocks of my approach to this thesis are informed by elements of all the theories discussed so far in this chapter. I had initially been influenced by intercultural education, which is the preferred term to be used when discussing educational approaches to difference in other European countries. Through the review of British literature I realised, that it is not a prominent concept in the context of Scotland, where this study is based. Here, the dominant discourse was of multicultural education and/or antiracism. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) provide a useful attempt to clarify the diverse ways in which those terms are used, which can be applied to different countries. They propose to break down multiculturalism into the categories of: conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism, left-essentialist multiculturalism, and critical multiculturalism. They differ in their relation to the curriculum: the first three are seen as ‘optional extras’, whereas the last two seek to empower people and shake up the existing structural, oppressive, social order.

I position myself today embedded with the critical multicultural approach. Before moving on to its discussion I would like to spend some time showing the links between Interculturalism and critical multiculturalism in this study, as well as relating the use of these concepts to my Research Questions, as informed by an emerging research gap.

The ideals of intercultural education are being strongly promoted within the European Union (EU), by the International Association for Intercultural Education (IAIE) in co-operation with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Commission (Batelaan and Coomans, 1999). This policy direction was first set out in The Vienna Declaration by the Council of Europe in 1993, with a view to ‘end of the division of Europe (...) [and] consolidate peace and stability on the continent’. The document sets out an overwhelmingly positive and aspirational policy direction, stating that:

All countries are committed to pluralist and parliamentary democracy, the indivisibility and universality of human rights, the rule of law and a common cultural heritage enriched by its diversity. Europe can thus become a vast area of democratic security. (Vienna Declaration, 9 October 1993)

The International Basis for Intercultural Education including Anti-racist and Human Rights Education (Batelaan and Coomans, 1999) delineates the blueprint for and the pan-European aims of intercultural education. The document is addressed to all EU nation states, reminding them of their international obligations to implement 'education that starts from democratic principles' (1999:20). Batelaan and Coomans set the goals of intercultural education within the framework of Children's and Human Rights, and explain:

The Convention on the Rights of the Child states that "the education of the child shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential" (art. 29a). Hence, that one of the criteria for the quality of education is that there should be a balance between the different purposes of education: the economic function, the social function, the cultural function and the pedagogical function. Learning needs of children and adults go beyond the mere economical function of education. In its report to UNESCO, the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, under the chairmanship of Jacques Delors, states that "education must be organized around four fundamental types of learning which, throughout a person's life, will in a way be the pillars of knowledge: learning to know, that is acquiring the instruments of understanding; learning to do, so as to be able to act creatively on one's environment; learning to live together, so as to participate and co-operate with other people in all human activities; and learning to be, an essential progression which proceeds from the previous three". Key words in the documents are: tolerance, respect, friendship, understanding, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They refer both to relations between nations (international relations) and to relations between groups of different religious, cultural and ethnic backgrounds within states (intra-national, intercultural relations).

Since the different nations of the world are interdependent, and since virtually all countries can be considered to be multicultural, the difference between international and intercultural understanding is not very relevant. In fact, all [state policy] texts deal with cultural, religious, linguistic, ethnic or "racial" diversity. In the different parts of the world different groups have different status, which causes inequality and discrimination. It is, therefore, not possible to deal with issues of diversity without dealing with issues of inequality. On the other hand, issues of inequality in a multicultural society cannot be addressed without dealing with cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is not only caused by historical and contemporary migration, but also by individual differences between people, by differences in profession, religion, age, gender, abilities, education, and life experiences. Human rights are drafted to ensure that all people, wherever they are living, have the same rights as other people. Human rights are inclusive, i.e. there are no people who are excluded from human rights; human rights are aimed at the inclusion of all people in society. All people have the same rights to participate in the economic, social and cultural areas of society. In the area of education, inclusiveness should be realised at the classroom level, which is the professional responsibility of the teacher, at the level of the school policy, which is the responsibility of the whole school community, particularly of the school management, and at the level of the educational system, which is materialised in educational legislation. (Batelaan and Coomans, 1999:18-19)

A detailed analysis of the above excerpt could demonstrate that various elements of multiculturalism, antiracism, intercultural theory and critical pedagogy can be found in the above aspirations. However, a critical lens also reveals the lack of emphasis on what is called 'racial diversity', as well as 'inequality and discrimination'. Systematic and institutional oppression and discrimination are not acknowledged. The discourse of rights and freedoms obscured the other, uglier side of process of negotiating social diversity, based on power and oppression.

Due to the fact that the concept of intercultural education is largely unused in Scotland, coupled with its officially 'sanitised' and unproblematic take on racism not sitting well with this study, I continued my search for another theoretical approach. I was also opposing the idea that such education should be directed at minority ethnic pupils, and not all pupils. As shown before, both multicultural and antiracist education in Britain, due to their complex historical backgrounds, too often carry such connotations for teachers. Rattansi (2011:156) argues that:

There is now an urgent need for a transformation of the vocabulary of multiculturalism into that of 'interculturalism', with a corresponding shift to underpinning premises which highlight the deep historical interconnectedness of cultures and an understanding of how conceptions of tolerance, liberty, rationality and so forth are shared across 'civilisations', and in particular how non-Western cultures have made a vital contribution to the development of these ideas and their appropriate institutions. Modernity is not a uniquely western phenomenon, but a shared Euroasian achievement. (Rattansi, 2011:156)

Drawing from the works of May and Sleeter (2010) and Rattansi (2011), as well as the wide areas of CRT and Critical Pedagogy, I adopted some elements of intercultural theory and education into the theory of Critical Multiculturalism.

Critical multiculturalism acknowledges that the time of conservative, liberal and pluralist multicultural education has probably passed in the context of the UK, and internationally. They have been replaced by moves to standardise curricula in order to enable greater international competition in education, often described as the route to closing the achievement gap between the rich and poor. Also, multiculturalism as public policy in Europe 'is in an apparent full

retreat' (May and Sleeter, 2010: 2), losing ground to 'integration' of minorities (Modood, 2007) and a greater marketization of education, leading to ever greater social inequality.

In light of the consistent disadvantages of 'longstanding racialised institutional policies', critical multiculturalism denounces the weaknesses of liberal multiculturalism for ('ironically'):

Its inability to tackle seriously and systematically these structural inequalities, such as racism, institutionalised poverty and discrimination, as a result of its continued use of the affirmational and politically muted discourses of "culture" and cultural recognition. (May and Sleeter, 2010:3)

Moreover, May and Sleeter assert that:

More critical educational conceptions - notably, antiracist education, critical race theory, critical pedagogy and critical multiculturalism – too often fail in turn to provide actual examples of transformed and/or emancipatory pedagogy and practice. (ibid)

As a result, this study is designed to fill a gap within critical multicultural education literature, which aims to reconcile elements of different paradigms as well as an intersectional approach to inequality, and apply them to teacher practices. Through searching for the answers to this study's Research Questions, this thesis aims to demonstrate both the theoretical understanding that selected Scottish primary school teachers hold about approaches to ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, as well as to demonstrate how such understanding is translated into the level of classroom practice by those individual teachers, within the contexts of their work.

Secondly, the appeal of critical multiculturalism lies in stressing the need for reflexivity on the part of educators, and the need to locate 'ourselves and our own individual and collective histories, critically and reflectively in these wider discourses, and their associated power relations'. This represents another aim of this research study, to explore the processes of participation in the wider discourses and narratives of 'race' equality in the Scottish context, as understood by selected primary school teachers.

Although the methodology of this study does not allow for an in-depth, reflexive exploration of teacher positionality in their own eyes (which could become a topic for further research investigations), I believe that it is important to indicate briefly at this stage that I have little choice but position myself as an outsider to the Scottish educational system, with its ‘normative assumptions’ and ‘the institutionalised practices that characterise them’ (May and Sleeter, 2010:11). This fact might allow for a unique contribution to educational research on this topic.

2.3 Challenges for schools and teachers

Bauman (2000: 84) argues that:

Communities of “the like” are built on desire for sameness. That desire blinds the eye to the diversity in “us” while simultaneously sharpening it to the otherness of “them”.

He sees comparison and competition as ‘seeds of exclusion’ and advocates that:

The future of humanity depends on our ability and willingness to live with cultural diversity; on whether the issue of inclusion and the postulate of sameness can be set apart and held apart. (Bauman, 2000: 86)

In this context, it is important to consider the role of teachers, their attitudes, beliefs and the challenges they might face in engaging in critical multicultural education in practice.

The changing roles and responsibilities of teachers are due to an already identified, neo-liberal:

Fundamental shift in the way we regard ourselves – from being citizens (having access to defined goods and services as members of society) to being consumers (purchasing goods and services, provided that we have the money). Being a consumer and having a purchasing power is fundamentally and qualitatively different from being a citizen and having rights by virtue of a social contract with the state. (Smith, 1995:2)

In this context, it is especially important that questions about the purpose of education should be asked and put at the forefront of all actions by teachers, parents and policymakers, as their answers determine what and how teachers teach. If we allow the policymakers or parents

(consumers) to ‘shift the responsibility of achievement of objectives onto teachers’ and away from the state-influenced, structural inequalities (Smith, 1995:3), teachers guided by their own, deeply held values social justice will be forced to take personal and professional responsibility for their pupils not attaining standardised test scores or predetermined skills for work. As Smith (1995) puts it:

The competency-based approach (...) leads to teachers being excluded from decisions about what is important in their work, and when this happens, questions about the valued social and educational ends of teaching become subservient to aspects that are observable, technical and easily controllable. Such perspectives largely deny the profoundly moral, political, social and ethical nature of teaching as a relational activity. (1995:4)

There is a need to hold professional debates amongst the profession on how teachers can collectively stand up to being regarded as technicians, delivering the curriculum and implementing policies. Ball (1990:12) speaks of the need to allow teachers to employ ‘creative social action, not robotic activity’, especially with a view of supporting teacher agency in the already crippling constraints of prescriptive curriculum and inflexible educational policy landscape.

Amongst other challenges teachers may face en route to espousing critical multicultural education for all are teacher held beliefs about diversity and their attitudes to difference. These have not been widely examined in Scotland. From the little research there is, and from other national contexts, we know that many teachers exhibit fear, lack of confidence, and misconceptions about addressing racist oppression and discrimination in practice (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Arshad et al, 2005; Gaine, 2005; Gillborn, 2008; Nieto, 2008; Lander, 2011).

Research on work with linguistically diverse pupils in Scotland shows a mixed picture of support offered to those children (Foley et al, 2013, Foley, 2010). Positive effects of bilingualism on learning have been widely reported (Cummins, 1984; Edwards, 2009; Hancock, 2012; Lachlan et al, 2012; see also *Bilingualism Matters*, a University of Edinburgh research centre), with their advantages in terms of cognitive skills, translinguaging and phonological and grammatical awareness all identified as more developed than in monolingual children (Kang, 2010). Surprisingly, this is still not common knowledge for all Scottish class

teachers, as many continue to hold deficit views of bilingualism and discriminate against the use of languages other than English in class. Showing all pupils the benefits of bilingualism could have the double effect of positively extending bilingual pupils' identity and self-confidence, in addition to building a positive image of all language learning to the general school population. But if it is left mostly to specialist English as an Additional Language teachers to do, Scottish pupils have slim chances of 'becoming intercultural'.

There has been, to date, very little research in Scotland relating to the broadly defined area of 'race' equality. A 1998 review of educational research in Scotland demonstrated that any such research is rare, usually small scale, pragmatic and not coordinated, but largely conducted by committed individuals (Powney et al, 1998:66). The 2001 *Audit of Research on Minority Ethnic Issues in Scotland from a 'Race' Perspective* (Netto et al, 2001) also identified a paucity of in-depth, coordinated research, with the available results often exposing the 'invisibility' of issues of 'race', suggesting a neglect of this area in Scottish academic research. There have not been any more recent, large scale research reviews identified.

Among the main topics raised through small scale research projects were issues of embedding 'race' equality into all aspects of learning and teaching, including school ethos (Netto et al, 2001); pupil experiences of racism and discrimination (Arshad et al, 2004); home-school links with minority ethnic families (Arshad and Syed, 2001), institutional racism (Arshad and Almeida Diniz, 1999), and raising attainment of bilingual pupils (Glasgow Education Services, 1999; City of Edinburgh Council EAL Service, 2001). Religious diversity has seen slightly more recent research interest (Riddell and Kakos, 2009; Riddell et al, 2009 and 2013).

There are not many studies looking at the reality of minority ethnic students and their teachers' daily experiences in Scottish schools. The above mentioned study of *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (MEPESS)* (Arshad et al, for the Scottish Executive, 2004) originated from an identified 'need for systematic data on how teachers and schools put in place policies and practices to take forward race equality' (Arshad et al, 2004:2). The study identified a number of weaknesses in Scottish schools, such as:

- an absence of empowering policies
- misunderstandings of national policies at school level
- the lack of a systematic, comprehensive approach to mainstreaming multicultural and antiracist education
- failing to place 'race' equality on the teaching agenda
- the school ethos not reflecting a commitment to racial equality
- issues of lack of engagement with minority ethnic pupil and parents' experiences of Scottish education, which could inform the teaching and learning processes.

Both Netto et al (2001) and Arshad et al (2004) identified areas for improvement pertaining to the roles and figures of teachers themselves, such as:

- unclear teacher understandings of how best to take forward issues of justice and inequality
- uncertainty about and poor understanding of antiracist and multicultural approaches in general, and unease with use of terminology in particular
- a common pursuit of folkloristic multiculturalism, lacking a critical dimension
- associating issues of ethnic diversity with bilingualism and a deficit lens
- equating issues of 'race' equality to the education of minorities, failing to understand the advantages of exploring issues of diversity, identity and prejudice with all pupils
- observed a pattern of 'meeting the needs' – reacting to problems when they occur instead of being proactive in teaching children antidiscrimination, or 'researching the ways in which education institutions could alter their practice to ensure that racial equality is embedded and mainstreamed into the structures and the processes of education' (Netto et al, 2001:43)
- poor teacher skills, knowledge and confidence of equality, fairness and inclusion matters, which affects the abovementioned issue of explicit placement of 'race' equality within the curriculum
- teacher attitudes and beliefs, and the negation of racism as non-existent or trivial

- the role of senior management and leadership in shaping the attitude and ethos of the entire school.

In the context of increasing linguistic diversity in Scottish schools, issues of prevailing monolingualism, as well as ascribing little value to multilingualism in British and Scottish public discourse, must be addressed. Even with modest increase in the values of Gaelic and Scots as languages in their own right, the prevailing narrative of nationalistic identity in Scotland plays into a wider British tendency to normalise English as the ‘right’ language. According to Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004:18), the English-speaking ‘British self’ is imagined against ‘an undesirable non-English speaking Other’. The domination of English is often seen as legitimate in a ‘one-language, one-culture, one-nation’ ideology (Blommaert, 2005), which may lead to disregard for other languages and cultures (Bourdieu, 1998), along with non-recognition, cultural domination and disrespect (Young, 1990; Fraser, 1997; Gewirtz, 2006). If schools are to develop and promote a national identity through a ‘rather abstract notion of British culture’ (Block, 2006) and of Scottishness, the chances of teachers creating spaces for exploring identity formation at the frontiers of interculturality are very slim. Acknowledging minority ethnic children’s complex, often hyphenated identities, and the need to respond to a changing linguistic profile of Scottish schools through professional debate, could be steps in the right direction. This research is interested in finding out if such steps are being taken in some primary schools.

Another issue which requires professional debate is the one of teacher reflexivity. As teachers find themselves moving away from a context where belonging comes naturally (Bauman, 2000), and are expected to guide both minority ethnic and the majority children to negotiate ‘who they used to be’ and ‘who they would now like to become’, they must commit to a ‘self-conscious, reflexive project of individual agency’ (Block, 2006:29). Moreover, because learning is ‘a fundamentally social phenomenon’ (Wenger, 1998:3), teachers should actively include other stakeholders in the negotiation of new identities. For example, they should be aware of the need to prioritise whole school approaches, which would enable power and experience sharing with other teachers as well as the pupils. Additionally, teachers should engage children and their families (Harris and Goodall, 2008) and scaffold the responses to

diversification of the society, led by a belief in the need to equip all children with tools to negotiate difference and befriend Otherness.

This research explores the challenges which Scottish primary school teachers face in practising critical multicultural education, as suggested by the literature discussed in this chapter, with the aim of filling some of the identified research gaps.

2.4 Addressing the gap in research: what are the elements of support network for teachers?

Another area which this research investigates, as mentioned before, is around the leadership undertaken by the Scottish Government and local authorities, as well as the leadership and guidance available at the school level on mediating the current ‘race’ equality education policy landscape, with a particular focus on teacher perspectives. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The policy to practice mediation received very little focus in Scottish literature on ‘race’ equality and forms one of the identified gaps which this study explores. Through a nested case study design, this thesis captures the roles and responsibilities of national and local authorities, as well as school level leadership, in enabling negotiation of the policy guidance available for teachers.

There is a need to determine to what extent teachers understand how ‘race’ equality is reflected in Scottish education policy. At the same time, I am interested in seeing whether what teachers think about the purposes of education is reflected in the policies guiding their practice. Are their voices heard? Should they be more prominent? Another identified issue worth addressing is how policy is mediated by teachers at their micro-levels of (significant) influence. Do teachers see themselves as technicians, policy deliverers or subversive to policy boundaries? This study aims to identify factors which influence the process of ‘race’ equality policy mediation at the school and individual teacher level. It has been acknowledged that simply believing in the principles of inclusive education as underpinning Scottish education policy (Riddell, 2009) may not be enough. A critical orientation, for example one of a culturally responsive curriculum, or using a critical literacy approach as part of the curriculum, would

be better suited to embedding multicultural and antiracist education in everyday teacher practice, as was demonstrated earlier in this chapter.

Moreover, the sheer strength of the ‘egalitarian myth’ (McCrone, 2001; Craig, 2003) in Scottish education and the wider society, without a specific focus on ‘race’ equality, might mean that multicultural education stops being critical in its orientation and begins to get lost among all the other policy and curricular requirements put on teachers. ‘Mainstreaming’ of equalities work, in a coordinated, school-level fashion, has been shown to bring the best results. When critical multicultural education is connected to Education for Citizenship, Human Rights, and Sustainability or otherwise grounded in everyday, meaningful educational topics and pedagogies, it has a chance of truly permeating the curriculum, described by Ladson-Billings as the vehicle for addressing structural racism. Those foundations stand in contrast with practices which are purely reactive or solely needs-based; these often exhibit deficit thinking about diversity.

Finally, teacher autonomy and teacher agency are also important factors to explore. Critical realist theories of human agency (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Archer, 2000) converge the roles of structure and agency as complementary forces. Archer called this approach ‘analytical dualism’, stressing the interdependence of structure and agency, which, when applied to education, results in focusing particularly on the context within which teachers work. A socio-cultural perspective (Eteläpelto et al, 2013) proposes that interaction is central to the notion of agency. It sees this as partly determined by the context of a teacher’s work, but purports that human activity maintains or modifies and develops its nature in practical ways.

Theo Wubbels, in a keynote speech at an ESRC seminar on *Teacher Education for the Changing Demographics of Schooling* at the University of Edinburgh in 2014, notes that relationships between pupils and teachers are connected to pupils’ cognitive and affective outcomes. He also notes that minority ethnic children can benefit more from strong relationships with their teachers. When teachers understand the challenges that minority ethnic pupils may face at school, they can create an inclusive and safe environment for learning, as well as help them direct and ‘befriend’ their own learning processes, as it positively impacts

on pupils' motivation. Relationships and children's wellbeing are therefore accepted as very important aspects of education in general. It is worth asking what attitudes teachers hold towards social diversity in general, as this impacts in a powerful way on the kinds of relationships teachers can build with pupils and the pupils can build with one another.

Teacher beliefs and attitudes have been shown to affect their practice. The experience of Other, for example through travel, education or work abroad, or an exposure to different cultural identities early in childhood were all identified by Smith et al (1997) as factors enabling development of positive attitudes to difference. Knowles (1992) points to early childhood experiences and Stone (1988) and Alsup (2006) to one's family circle as factors which shape the future teachers' sense of self and also their professional identities. Arshad (2008b), in her research with activist teachers in Scotland, has demonstrated the importance of teachers' private lives, their prior knowledge, relationships, beliefs and values which they had before they entered the profession. She has identified the church, peer groups and specific friendship influences, supporting the view that 'teacher beliefs and values are shaped prior to entering initial teacher education programmes' (Arshad, 2008b:v). Her research has also shown that teacher activism can develop through a number of routes during their career and that small, everyday interventions are crucial to making a positive impact on their pupils (see also Mitchell, 2012), adding to a post-structural view on structure and agency.

It is important to note that while the views of experienced, activist teachers, and student teacher views on social justice have been probed in the context of Scotland in the last decade, little research on primary school teachers exists, forming a gap worth addressing. This study considers relational aspects of agency in the social, physical and geographical contexts of teachers' work, in correlation with their personal characteristics and dispositions.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored views on education for 'race' equality in the light of academic literature in the field. I have discussed the nuances of a number of conceptual frameworks, reflecting on the complexity and contested nature of multicultural, antiracist, and intercultural education.

The need to clarify the many concepts forming critical multicultural education, as well as to consider what the purpose of education is, has been underlined. I have also suggested that links exist between teacher professionalism, reflexivity, prior experiences and knowledge, activism, agency and classroom practice. Issues of structural and institutional oppression and inequality, such as the influence of ideology in education policy on teachers, were considered, alongside outlining the many ways in which those can be challenged and overcome.

This chapter has also pointed out the specific gaps which should be addressed in the Scottish educational research context. The overall picture of research data shows a pattern of ad hoc, individualistic efforts by singular teachers, sitting outside the educational structures of the system. Crucially, the curriculum has not been so far recognised as a place for embedding critical multiculturalism, disrupting power relations and raising consciousness of the need to deconstruct the content and nature of knowledge itself. Does that mean that primary school teachers do not see it as part of their role, or as possible, to engage all children from a young age in the discovery of their own power and agency? The Scottish Government expressed its commitment to inclusive system of education, and one that enables young people to become effective contributors and responsible citizens, amongst other attributes. But how exactly are teachers supported to help children achieve those goal? My study addresses the identified need to explore teacher understandings of multiculturalism and antiracism in education, where these sit in relation to the goals of traditionally understood multicultural education, Critical Race Theory, Interculturalism and Critical Multiculturalism: all summed up by the Scottish reference to a term “education for ‘race’ equality”. By doing this I hope to offer some insight into the implications from teacher perspectives and practices for the policymakers, with the aim to determine how teachers relate their own beliefs and attitudes to Scottish educational policy guidance on the topic.

All these considerations, rooted both in the spheres of teacher values/beliefs and actions/behaviours, fed to the processes of data collection and analysis of this research project. In the later chapters I demonstrate these links. For now, I turn to outline the legislative and policy context of education for racial equality in Scotland. Both historical developments and the current range of national policy guidance available to practitioners is presented, to paint a

picture of the official policy discourses, and aspirational policy directions. This will form the basis from which to investigate two of the four research questions which this study poses: what are teachers' awareness and understanding of educational policy related to multicultural and antiracist education in Scotland, and finally, how these understandings, attitudes and beliefs impact on teacher practice.

Chapter 3

Legislative and educational policy context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines Scotland-specific narratives of ‘race’ equality, as visible in political and policy discourse. The focus is placed on description and analysis of how those narratives have developed over time. A link is made to post-structural theory, with its critique of metanarratives, the importance of forms of language, and the use of genealogy as a form of theoretical understanding (Derrida, 1967; Foucault, 1972). The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the Scottish equalities policy context, which is applied in schools and determines large aspects of practice described and analysed in the Findings chapters of this thesis. The space for a critical engagement with the details of the dominant narrative discourses, such as the denotations and connotations attached to its vocabulary, will be presented in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. It will also be the place to consider the development of school policies and their local authority bases, issues of change and continuity, authorship, audience, and many other aspects relating to their contents.

3.2 Theoretical considerations of policy, its language and construction processes

Prior (2003) suggests that research should not avoid its part in examining how documents are understood and used in their social settings. By doing so:

We take a critical stance towards our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world (including ourselves), [...] to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation [and] to be ever suspicious of our assumptions about how the world appears to be.’ (Burr, 1995:3, cited in Thompson, 1998: 34)

Thompson (1998:65) argues that ‘language is a vehicle for power’ and draws our attention to the socially constructed nature of any discourse, narrative or vocabulary. Thompson (ibid) notes that the power of language lies in its many facets, which are all open to continuous

interpretation and reinterpretation, but can also resist change, if governed by strict rules. Those rules have to be overseen by some authority, otherwise they may break.

The language of legislation and governmental policy is governed by the most powerful in society; it is also wholly politicised. The field of educational policy analysis tends therefore to be occupied by those who endeavour to understand the ideological discourses underpinning any text or document. Roberts (1992, cited by Thompson, 1998:69) argues that researchers need to develop sensitivity to the discriminatory potential of language, as it 'reflects, transmits but also actively creates and maintains the values and relationships of a society'. Language can also conceal power, through indirectness, tentativeness, misrepresentation and generalisation (Thompson, 1998:69-70). The jargon of policymaking, depersonalisation of people belonging to minority groups, stereotypical expressions maintaining discrimination and stigma of some people over others and the exclusion of whole groups of people can be visible in policy documents (Thompson, 1998:62).

Moreover, policies are described as aspirational, but always get interpreted by individuals, whose own aspirations and world views can be at odds with the official policy. An expectation on teachers to fulfil the postulates of any educational policy can therefore be interpreted as an expectation to support the political power at the helm at the current political moment. In the context of teachers shying away from political engagement in general, and especially from revealing their own political standpoints at school, questions should be asked as to what degree fulfilling and supporting official policy lines can be expected of teachers in the first place. Broadfoot and Osborn (1995:230-233) describe teachers' role in the implementation of policy as 'open-ended and ill-defined', which can potentially lead to a professional 'burn-out' in the environment of constant goal setting, when these are known to be unachievable. The dichotomies of structure and agency; macro and micro levels of enactment; and policy and teacher perceptions of what 'race' equality means, are interdependent, not opposites (Ball, 2006:44). Ball believes that 'we live and think structures, rather than simply being oppressed or limited by them' (ibid).

The complexity of structure vs. agency debate in relation to policy analysis in education has been widely discussed in the literature (Apple, 1993; Ball, 1990, 2004, 2006). Due to a lack of space for deeper considerations of policy analysis in the chapter, I will return to the above notions in the Discussion of Findings, relating engagement with policy to teacher professionalism, agency and activism, amongst other factors.

3.3 The Scottish ‘Equalities’ policy context the role of the Scottish Government

Legislation and policy making relating to ‘race’ equality in Scotland presents a complex picture, even if the history of the Scottish Parliament goes back less than three decades, to 1999. Devolved Scotland is legally bound by the GB-wide legislation relating to equal opportunities, a Reserved Matter, which is then translated down through a number of levels of enactment and through many social actors.

The Scottish Government responds to all UK and GB legislation through the formulation of Scotland-specific policies, for example by the means of ministerial ‘race’ equality Statements, Schemes and Strategies. It is supported by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), which acts to protect, enforce and promote equality across the Great Britain, producing statutory and non-statutory guidance on legislation to public authorities. Local authorities are the bodies responsible for the implementation of policies.

Local authorities are responsible also for producing their own, local context-relevant policies, as agreed through the 2007 Concordat between the Scottish Government and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). Each local authority must demonstrate how it conforms to the law, use the EHRC guidance and support schools by providing with their own guidance, or working to develop school-level relevant policies. The picture of ‘race’ equality policies used in individual schools varies between and also within local authorities. With the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, all schools faced the requirement to update their policies relating to equality, including racial equality.

Overall, since there is a lack of clear and specific guidance, from either the macro level of Westminster or the Scottish Government, there is much variation as to what is actually being done in primary schools and classrooms. There are significant differences in policy translation and mediation between Scottish local authorities, dependent on key staff and their understanding of what is expected of the authority in relation to the support and guidance it offers to its schools.

At the same time, with each school's context being different, the magnitude of variation increases exponentially, as schools re-interpret and adapt local authority policy guidance to suit their own contexts and needs (Netto et al, 2001). A level of commonality is preserved, as the core of 'race' equality legislation, embodied in the Equality Act 2010, does not change. However, how prominent it is at each school and for each teacher is beyond the control of central government. It can also be argued that the local authority's oversight is limited to 'stepping in' when something goes wrong, or only at a time of major change, to help schools adapt to new policy requirements and expectations.

In this context, at the time of this research study, the Equality Act 2010, being introduced in schools for only a short time before it came to force in October 2011, was unfamiliar to many teachers. Despite having roots in a series of Race Relations Acts, and to a large extent recycling some of their main language and conceptual structures, it provided a new framework of reference for teachers, which will be described in brief in the following sections.

3.4 The macro level - the level of national policy and the structure of its mediation

3.4.1 Historical overview of addressing the problem of racial discrimination through legislation and policy

Legislation originating in Westminster, such as the Race Relations Act 1976, Disability Discrimination Act 1995, Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, Equality Act 2006 and finally Equality Act 2010, all form the basis for any work undertaken on the ground. Until

2010, there were 3 separate Statutory Duties on all public bodies to actively promote some strands of equality, namely the Race Equality Duty (2002), the Disability Equality Duty (2005) and the Gender Equality Duty (2006). The Equality Act 2006 made discrimination on grounds of religion and belief unlawful, and through later Regulations (2007) also on the grounds of sexual orientation.

The Equality Act 2010 consolidated previous equalities legislation and added new dimensions of equality, resulting in the formulation of ‘protected characteristics’, namely: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex and sexual orientation. It also consolidated the public sector equality duties on the grounds of all the protected characteristics (except marriage and civil partnership, for which only the duty to eliminate discrimination applies). Scotland’s public authorities are now under a general duty to:

1. eliminate unlawful discrimination,
2. consider and promote equality, and
3. foster good relations between people of different protected characteristics, *in all they do*

The above pertains not only to policy-making, but also service provision. The notion of ‘mainstreaming equality’ is central to the Act, with the intention that it becomes an integral part of national and local governments’ daily activities. Schools are therefore also expected to follow suit, in the rhetoric of the Act. This rhetoric is presented and briefly analysed below.

As the EHRC Equality Act 2010 web page states: ‘A new Equality Act came into force on 1 October 2010. The Equality Act brings together over 116 separate pieces of legislation into one single Act. The nine main pieces of legislation that have merged are:

- the Equal Pay Act 1970
- the Sex Discrimination Act 1975
- the Race Relations Act 1976
- the Disability Discrimination Act 1995

- the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003
- the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003
- the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006
- the Equality Act 2006, Part 2
- the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007'

Combined, they make up the Equality Act, which 'provides a legal framework to protect the rights of individuals and advance equality of opportunity for all [...] to provide Britain with a new discrimination law which protects individuals from unfair treatment and promotes a fair and more equal society'.

It is notable that the language of the introduction to the Equality Act, presented by the Equality and Human Rights Commission, is of all positive-sounding terminology, speaking of 'protecting rights of individuals and advancing opportunity for all' – which suggest it is of concern to all in the in-group of the British society, and for every individual, without specifically delineating whether those individuals are citizens, residents, visitors, or just 'free' people under the umbrella of a liberal democracy. At the same time, the Act speaks of 'protection from unfair treatment' and 'promotion' of fairness and equality in society, avoiding any admission of injustice in this country. The term 'antidiscrimination' is absent from the introduction of the Act. The choice of presenting this legislation as 'a new discrimination law' may suggest that it is not of great significance, as it is simply 'a new law', moreover, that it exists to deal with discrimination, reactively, and not to prevent discrimination from happening. The audience of the policy is left to guess whether improved reactivity or indeed proactivity was the policymaker's intention.

Alas, this is only the terminology of the introductory statement, aiming to provide a quick overview to the public. Unfortunately, it is much beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct a detailed analysis of the current law. It is also beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct similar exercises for each of the subsequently identified policy documents, at the levels of the Scottish Government guidance for schools, or even at the level of the two local authorities represented in this study. This could form an area of interests in further studies on the topic.

For these reasons, only school-level policies, identified as relating to the area of ‘race’ equality in education, will be analysed in depth in this study. They were collected and analysed as part of the methodological design of this research. The specifics of the method are described in Chapter 5, with Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 presenting the analysis of schools’ policy documents.

In this Chapter, only a brief overview of the different levels of equality-related policies will be included, to outline the complexity of processes by which the different levels of policy creation and mediation influence classroom practice. More detailed analyses of the whole process can be found elsewhere (for example, see Arshad (2008a), and later editions of this chapter).

3.4.2 Scottish legislation and its relevance to ‘race’ equality

In the context of Scottish education before Devolution, the most influential policy to promote a school-based focus on multicultural and antiracist education was the Swann Report, *Education for All*, 1985. It was the first advocate of ‘a form of multicultural education which incorporated an anti-racist element and was aimed at all pupils’ (Pilkington, 2003:162). It was also the first report to mention *institutional racism* as a real social problem, which all schools should confront, irrespective of their pupil make up (Arshad, 2008a). Arshad (ibid) suggests, however, that Scotland at that time had a self-image of ‘good race relations’, seeing the problem of racism only as an issue in more diverse communities. With the assumption of a ‘no problem here’ approach, until the time of Scottish Devolution, the issue of racial inequality was only ever raised by those ethnic minority people affected by it.

The Children (Scotland) Act 1995 imposed a duty on all those who provide services for children ‘to have regard, as far as practicable, to children’s religious persuasion, racial origin and cultural and linguistic background’. Even though it was binding for educators across all levels, it was not at all helpful in specifying what this ‘*regard*’ should entail. Moreover, why and when it would not be ‘*practicable*’?

The Standards in Scotland's Schools Act 2000 placed an obligation on every local education authority to produce an Annual Statement of Improvement Objectives, to outline a proposed plan of action to *challenge and prevent discrimination*, as well as to *promote equal opportunities* in education. This Act resulted in introducing 5 national priorities for education. These were: Achievement and Attainment; Framework for Learning; Inclusion and Equality; Values and Citizenship; and Learning for Life. Even though Priority 3 ('to promote equality and help every pupil benefit from education with particular regard paid to pupils with disabilities and special educational needs, and to Gaelic and lesser used languages') does not specifically mention 'race' equality, it is understood to encompass it, alongside issues such as teaching children with English as an Additional Language. This suggests a deficit and still largely assimilationist approach to conceptualising equality.

Following the setting of these priorities, in the context of new legislation coming into effect and the concentrated work of external bodies such as EHRC (the earlier Commission for Racial Equality) and HMIE, a political environment supportive to the development of education for 'race' equality can be said to have existed.

Since Devolution, Scotland has enjoyed 'a conceptual shift in political thinking and commitment towards equality issues, particularly race equality [as] the 'new' Scotland regarded itself as a Scotland where everyone matters' (Arshad, 2008a:897). The additional push towards the need to respond to racism seriously came from the publication in 1999 of the MacPherson Report into the death of Stephen Lawrence, which also had a set of recommendations specific to schools. Around the same time, the last of the Race Relations Acts, (*Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000*), put a requirement on all public authorities 'to eliminate unlawful discrimination and to promote equality and good race relations'. Schools are 'to have regard to the education authority's race equality policy and to monitor and assess the impact of their policies on pupils, staff and parents from different racial groups' (City of Edinburgh Council Education Equality Policy 2008-2012, 6.3).

Following from the RRAA 2000, the *Statutory Code of Practice on the Duty to Promote Race Equality in Scotland* (Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland, 2002) was published,

aiming to help public authorities meet their duty to combat racism, again described as present in society, by providing ‘practical guidance on the steps they should take’ to achieve this (Foreword). This governmental guidance produced a tool supporting the creation of local authority policies, with a specific focus on ‘race’ equality and education. A similar tool was produced by the Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland in 2002 (*Guide for Education Authorities and Schools in Scotland*), as well as by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education in 2002 and 2004, forming the first of a number of *How good is our school?* self-evaluation packs for schools’ own use.

Introduction of the above-mentioned laws and duties clearly showed a developing commitment at both Westminster and Scottish Government levels to tackle discrimination and promote equality, with a clear political momentum at its peak around and after Devolution. The introduction of RR(A)A 2000 was followed by the creation of: *A Race Equality Strategy for Scotland* in 2001. After the introduction of the Race Equality Duty in 2002, a Race Equality Review was published in 2005, identifying four key priorities for action in Scotland. These concerned Gypsies/Travellers, Asylum Seekers and Refugees, ‘Race’ Equality in rural areas, and participation in labour market, including issues around immigration.

The work of 4 Strategic Groups on these priorities, and an added focus on tackling Islamophobia as well as addressing the new challenges of the changing demography of Scotland post the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, was situated within the context of parliamentary and local government elections of 2007. This resulted in creation of the *Race Equality Statement* (2008) and *Race Equality Scheme* (2008).

By that time, Scottish Government and the EHRC were expecting a new, single Equalities legislation. When the Equality Act 2010 came into force, a new public sector general duty became law in Scotland. The Government was then required to outline specific duties, which described steps that public bodies should take in fulfilling the general duty. At the time of undertaking fieldwork for this study, the proposed Regulations for Specific Duties following on the Equality Act 2010 were not yet available. In the meantime, EHRC produced interim guidance for Scottish public authorities on meeting the General Duty (2011) and put forward

advice to public authorities to continue using their existing systems, continuing the assumed good practice developed throughout the recent years.

The Government is therefore bound by law to actively focus on equality in all that they do, mentioned before as mainstreaming 'race' equality, as opposed to 'continuing the previous focus on individuals, challenging each instance of discrimination encountered' (EHRC, *Equality Issues in Scotland: a review of research 2000-08*, 2009:3). One of the ways of demonstrating compliance with this law is through Equality Statements published alongside Scotland's Budget in recent years, for example with the 2011-2012 Budget and as an Equality Statement in the Scottish Spending Review for 2011. These mention paying 'due regard' to equality through measures such as protecting frontline services at schools, work with children through the Curriculum for Excellence, continuing the work of GIRFEC, early intervention schemes, Early Years Framework and a few others. It needs to be mentioned though that in the year of fieldwork, some of the specific support for pupils had started to disappear, due to the economic downturn beginning to affect local authorities' spending. For example, funding for provision of specialist EAL support in schools is continually decreasing within local authority budgets despite identified needs to increase such provision.

The language of Scotland's 2001 *Education Action Plan* was promising. It stressed not only:

The need to recognise and include issues of race equality, ethnicity, cultural, linguistic and faith diversity and the elimination of institutional racism. Most importantly, everyone involved in Scottish education needs to understand the relevance and importance of these issues, regardless of geographical location or ethnic make-up of the local population. (Vision)

This policy was attuned to the principle of 'needs, not numbers', becoming relevant to all teachers, in all schools. Moreover, it underlined the need to mainstream 'race' equality and the principles of multiculturalism:

Into all aspects of Scottish education from policy formulation, design and delivery, through the shaping of education spending plans, inspection and assessment frameworks and the recruitment and selection of staff, to teaching and learning, curriculum development and research. (Vision)

The introduction of the *Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004* was another big step on the journey towards ‘race’ equality. It has, controversially, encompassed support for pupils with English as an Additional Language. Bilingual and multilingual children were regarded as ‘facing barriers to learning’, but not seen as having additional skills or enriching their peers’ education. Therefore the placing a duty upon local authorities to provide support for children with EAL was received with very mixed reactions by specialist EAL staff throughout Scotland.

3.5 Meso level - the responsibilities of local authorities

In due time, many of the newly introduced policy initiatives began being assessed. The evaluation of the delivery the National Priorities framework reflected its aspirational nature.

An *HMIE report to SEED on the Delivery of National Priorities* (2005) states that:

All education authorities have produced race equality policy statements in line with statute and schools have an increased awareness of the need to promote race equality. (...) Despite the overall improvements in arrangements for promoting equality and meeting pupils’ needs, more requires to be done. There is a need for all schools to ensure that they meet their legislative duty to promote race equality and prevent discrimination. While there has been some good staff development this will require to be duplicated and reinforced, including the further promotion of anti-racism and the celebration of diversity. There is limited evidence that schools are systematically monitoring and tracking pupils’ achievements with sufficient focus, including by ethnicity, to address underachievement. Further encouragement and support is also required for parents from minority ethnic backgrounds to become involved in their children’s education. (HMIE, 2005)

In 2007, a new set of National Priorities was introduced by the Scottish National Party (SNP) Government. A National Performance Framework (Scottish Government, Scottish Budget Spending Review 2007) set out the Government’s aims in another performance-based set of aspirational outcomes. Tackling inequality was seen as important, and understood in terms of reducing economic disadvantage and boosting the economic growth of the country as a whole. Outcome 7: ‘we have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society’, acknowledges the importance of equality work, but without mentioning specifically ‘race’ or the 5 other strands of equality recognised at the time. I will now therefore take a look back to the most

relevant (in the time scale of this project) government policies which stated ‘race’ equality as their main focus, to explore them in a bit more detail.

As explained before, public authorities were at the time advised to continue to follow their policies, preceding the Equality Act 2010, in areas relevant to the ‘protected characteristics’.

The Race Equality Statement (2008) and Race Equality Scheme (2008) are governmental policy documents explaining its vision and plan for action for the near future (the following 3 years). The Race Equality Scheme explains in detail actions taken by the Government’s various departments in their daily work. They both refer back to some of the national outcomes from 2007, as relevant to the Government’s ‘race’ equality work, and draw a picture of active engagement with ‘race’ equality issues as necessary in order to satisfy many of these outcomes.

In the Statement, we can find the Scottish Government’s vision driving work towards a more equal society:

Our vision is for a more equal Scotland that is fair and just. A Scotland which embraces diversity whilst also fostering a sense of common purpose and goals. A place where people from all backgrounds - irrespective of their race, faith, belief and place of birth - feel respected, have a sense of belonging and are confident that they can achieve their potential. Where we acknowledge our shared aspirations and common goals as we work for the good of Scotland. A Scotland where all of our communities are recognised as threads which make up the tartan of our nation’s life. (Vision)

With the use of very convincing language, the document set out some of the Government’s goals, as well as the context within which such work would be happening. Some of the identified priorities included:

- work with Scottish Gypsies/Travellers, as well as recent A8 migrants
- work with faith minorities in the context of growing Islamophobia
- dialogue and debate on identity, including its complexities
- community relations (including better support by services, increased safety, increased participation of minorities in ‘mainstream community and civic activity’)

- increased engagement, which would help ‘integration’ and ‘strengthening of community relations and develop understanding of our shared goals and aspirations’.

The document acknowledged the need for keeping the focus on bringing about change, after the arrival of a Single Equality Duty, and the broader equality framework of Equality Act 2010. It also stressed that ‘race’ equality is an issue concerning majority as well as minority groups in Scottish society. Altogether, the way forward looked well thought out. This was however a picture painted only from the aspirational goals and objectives. Some criticisms could be drawn in relation to a number of its aspects. A real-life significance to the majority of Scottish population required attention. The degree to which such goals were at the time visible in the public debate, in social and educational research, and within the local authorities and their remit of responsibility (including primary schools) was less examined. A research review from a ‘race’ equality perspective in Scotland (Netto et al, 2001) painted a very different picture of the real status of ‘race’ equality in Scottish education. This was presented in Chapter 2.

The use of language in the document is problematic. Despite claims that ‘race’ equality is an issue for majority and minority ethnic groups alike, the language of the whole document is clearly steered towards work with minorities, resembling efforts similar to social cohesion, which would in fact mean no improvement for minority ethnic children’s status and life chances in Scotland. The notions of ‘shared goals and aspirations’ as well as that powerful idea of a distinct, national Scottish identity, are not explored in any detail; they remain implicit. Faith and belief are equated to ‘race’ issues, with the majority of effort directed at tackling Islamophobia, but not even a mention of other religions or people of no belief. Poverty is mentioned only once in the whole document and not in any prominent way. Social class issues are not even acknowledged. Racism itself doesn’t seem to be given prominence, despite figuring in the text a number of times.

The Government’s objectives are planned to be delivered in partnership with many partners, such as the voluntary sector (with its strategic partners, such as the national umbrella body supporting the development of the Ethnic Minorities Voluntary Sector in Scotland (BEMIS);

Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations (CEMVO), and the Scottish Refugee Council) and the local government network. The Race Equality Scheme 2008 explains the Government's role to support the local education authorities, by:

- providing direction on priorities and measuring progress against those priorities;
- guidance, advice, benchmarking of information and specific support for developments, including workforce planning; and
- providing guidance on the curriculum, the assessment system, the national qualifications framework and quality assurance (through national inspection).

The Scheme has a section on education, which sets out a possible Action Plan for schools and the HMIE, amongst others. The section relating to schools is problematic, when looked at closely. It repeats the commitment to promote 'race' equality, but its practical terms are limited to a 'welcoming attitude' to newly arriving migrant children and their families, concentrating, again, on the provision of English as an Additional Language. A claim that '*these children* bring a richness and diversity to our schools, which is valued' (p. 241) not only contradicts the previous decision to place EAL provision under the ASL Act 2004; it also shows the intricate and sometimes unwitting ways, in which divisions are created between groups of people in Scotland. Assuming that *these children* become only temporary residents means that there is no acknowledgement of the desire to see all children as citizens, to develop their capacities of being citizens *now*, to encourage all children to explore the various facets of their developing Scottish identity (identified elsewhere as a distinct national educational outcome).

All the work of the national and local government in this area is aided by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). It was formed by the Equality Act 2006 by combining the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the Equal Opportunities and the Disability Rights Commission. EHRC provides guidance and advice in various forms, such as Codes of Practice, research evidence, toolkits etc. Its reach is country wide, but it also produces Scotland-specific guidance. As mentioned before, EHRC has recently (April 2011) provided interim non-statutory guidance for the public sector on the general equality duty, as the specific duties are not yet agreed on by the Scottish Government. Its statutory guidance on the 3

previous specific equalities duties continues to be applicable until the new guidance is made available.

EHRC has also produced guidance for local authorities as education providers (*What equality law means to you as education provider: schools*, August 2010) relating to the whole of Great Britain, and guidance for Scottish schools (*Draft Code of Practice: Schools in Scotland, for consultation*, January 2011). Both of these make a point of explaining the Equality Act 2010, its key concepts, including definitions, equality duty, with different sets of examples of lawful and unlawful actions. These documents use more accessible language than the Act itself, and the use of practical examples of discriminatory actions or behaviour can potentially lead the schools in preventing it from happening. Curriculum content and the provision of denominational schools are exempt from these provisions.

The legal and policy framework for the provision of multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland seemed to be comprehensive at the time, and potentially rich enough for a sound basis for action. This study set out to explore what awareness and understanding of this policy landscape class teachers had, in addition to asking them how they felt about the levels of support and guidance they received to navigate such a complex, and fairly new, policy environment.

3.5.1 Two local authority contexts

As stated in the initial sections of this chapter, the place to consider more localised settings and their understandings of the policy landscape falls in the Findings chapters. The contexts of the two distinct local authorities are set out in each case study chapter. Due to the volume of policies already outlined, I decided not to search for and analyse local authority level policies *prior* to entering the schools for data collection. My preference was to ask the teachers – what kind of policy framework are they aware of and (hopefully) using?

As a result, this chapter does not include more data on the local authority level policies. Neither do I comment on whether or not the encountered policies were reflective of the change in

Equality legislation or not, which is one of the limitations of this thesis. I leave the presentation of schools' interpretation of their local authority guidance until the Findings chapters. By doing that it is possible to clearly see the relationships that school-level policy forms (or does not form) with both the local and national government policy, before being re-interpreted by practitioners.

All relevant local authority policies were collected from schools or the authorities' websites during and around fieldwork. It is useful to stress one last time that this research took place at a time of major policy transition. Consequently, during teacher interviews and the subsequent documentary analysis, I concentrated on what teachers and Head teachers indicated they used at the time, in relation to both the school-level and local authority policies. The processes of mediation of local authority policies within the schools' context, by the Head Teachers and finally by class teachers, are also included in the schools' case analyses.

3.6 Future directions and a reflection

Due to the fact that the fieldwork part of this research project took place in 2010-2011, already some time ago in relation to social, economic and other globally-influenced circumstances, it may seem that the policy background outlined in this chapter is of dwindling relevance in schools. However, I claim that this is not the case. As shown in this chapter, there is a degree of conceptual and linguistic recycling involved in the creation of new educational policies. This may seem paradoxical, but not entirely illogical. Moreover, it was not possible to conduct a new, updated policy analysis in the duration of this project and aim to answer the original research questions of this study. This would have skewed the findings, as the policy context at the time of data collection and its historical backgrounds were central to addressing research questions of this study. Therefore, I refrain now from looking into the future of the Equality Act, as well as from offering my analysis of the direction of change, even though a comment could be offered on the expected migration patterns in Scotland, the changing nature of 'minorities' and the issue of continuity and change in terms of policy language (the guardian of the status quo or a change agent in itself).

In order to stay in the present, this thesis now turns to portray the epistemological and methodological basis of my research. The two are described in separate chapters. Chapter 4 considers theoretical, and Chapter 5 more practical, methodological choices underpinning this study's design.

Chapter 4

Methodology: epistemologies and theories

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the epistemological and methodological approaches followed in my study. I begin with outlining theoretical perspectives which influenced this research, namely interpretivist and social constructionist approaches, as well as elements of critical theory used in this work. My ontological perspective on the subjective and context-bound nature of reality is set out. I then explain the links between language, meaning and context, which influenced the choice of method. The researcher's role and study aims are presented, which allows me to move on to describe the study's design in more detail in the following chapter.

4.2 Critical interpretivism as the epistemological lens

When conducting research in the domain of humanities and social science, it is essential to define and make explicit one's theoretical assumptions. These assumptions will have undoubtedly influenced one's research, from the design stage all the way to presenting findings and conclusions. This is because all research carries within inherent values, beliefs and presuppositions about the nature of reality and knowledge itself (James and Vinnicombe, 2002). Researchers must ensure that this 'dance of design' (Janesick, 1998, see also Denzin and Lincoln, 1998) is unambiguous. I will therefore start by locating myself within the specific research paradigms on which this study is built.

As a researcher I sit within two ways of understanding the social world: studying how people make meaning, how they construct and interpret the world around them, but also being aware of the existence of external reality and objective power relations in the society and the wider world, which determine what people can and cannot do, and therefore assist and privilege or limit and restrain their actions. This epistemological approach is known as 'critical realism' (Bhaskar, 1978; Hammersley, 1992; Robson, 2002; Blaikie, 2007). I see teachers as

purposeful, reflective actors, who construct a meaningful social reality, interpreting what is happening around them on the bases of their context, experiences and own epistemologies. I want to understand how they make up their individual worlds, as this influences their practice and ultimately children's experiences. On the other hand, I see teachers as part of a diverse and multifaceted external reality (Ormston, Spencer, Barnard and Snape, 2014), which has the power to restrain and oppress them. It is the overt and covert power relations in the society, as well as the contexts of teachers' work, that exert major influence on teachers' actions. These external factors cannot be ignored; rather, they become the backbone of my study's interest and design.

Therefore, this study takes critical interpretivism as its main epistemological frame. The processes of design, fieldwork and data analysis are all determined by a combination of elements making up the interpretive and critical paradigms. This study is also informed by critical multiculturalism (May and Sleeter, 2010), but applying this lens beyond May and Sleeter's focus on classroom practice, and onto structural issues.

Having introduced the main theoretical perspectives which influenced this research, I will now move on to a more detailed consideration of the traditions and approaches in qualitative research which informed my choices in terms of research design, strategy and methodological approaches to data collection. I will also explain why some other approaches and philosophical traditions were rejected at this time.

4.2.1 Interpretivism, social constructionism and the critical paradigm – or the interplay between paradigms.

This study is situated in the reality of schools in 21st century Scotland, which are necessarily geographically, historically and politically bound. Also, the relationship between the researcher and social phenomena is interactive, therefore coming with my own preconceptions to different schools - institutions set within their own local contexts and consisting of distinct people – I needed to ensure that both the lens through which I looked at them, and the methods

employed in the investigation, were fit for purpose, enabling drawing conclusions and making comparisons.

To take a step back to the main philosophical traditions in research, primary differences between positivist, interpretivist, critical and postmodern paradigms stem from the views on the nature of reality and the purposes of conducting research at all. A positivist ontology, with its claims of reality as external to us and something we can predict and control, is nowadays widely rejected in the social sciences. Postmodern and post-structural perspectives are employed in social science, as they oppose certainty and taking anything for granted, instead aiming to deconstruct, problematize and question. Their different views on power issues distinguish them. Post-structuralists propose a certain ‘dispersal of power’ (Thompson, 1998), situating power not as absolute, but as fluid, open to change and influence, a property of interactions. Additionally, post-structural critique of meta-narratives and its focus on the importance of language and discourse (Thompson, 1998) sit very well within this study and will be referred back to time and again.

Postmodernists also reject the idea of absolute truth, instead proposing that ‘what counts as ‘truth’... depends on power relations and the discourses that sustain them’ (Thompson, 1998:56). Although this stance, as well as some other postmodernist presumptions, such as subjectivity and complexity, fits with what I believe in, using such an approach would be inadequate here. This is because this study sits firmly on the idea that the reality of teachers’ practice cannot easily be isolated or separated from the contexts of their everyday lives and their work. Therefore, if we go as far as to ‘question the assumption that there is a place where reality resides’ (Merriam, 2014:11), as some postmodernist would propose, we create a conflict with the idea that teacher thoughts and practices are situated in, and in part determined by, the contexts in which they live and work. Additionally, postmodernism rejects the idea of agency and lacks a critical, explicitly anti-discriminatory analytical lens, which are both serious problems.

I see social constructionism, interpretivism and critical paradigms as building blocks of this study. Social constructionism takes a ‘critical stance towards our taken-for-granted ways of

understanding the world (including ourselves)’ (Burr, 1995:3, cited in Thompson, 1998:34), and sees human action as rooted in, not determined by social systems. This creates space for critically interpretive analysis of the people’s realities, within a complex system of power influences and social interactions.

4.2.2 Interpreting ‘authoritative allocations of values’

Post-structural theories argue that social actors ‘are embedded in a complex network of social relations’ (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002:3) and reject the notions of reality and knowledge as fixed, emphasizing instead their constructed natures and multiple truths (Atkinson, 2003). This study will demonstrate the existence of contextualised understandings of multicultural and antiracist education, and multiple truths that individual teachers embody. However, it is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that all teachers operate within a national education system with some claims to defined aims and boundaries. Educational policies spell out these aims, creating one layer of context of a teacher’s work. But the uniformity of policy does not get translated into uniformity of practice, as the policies get interpreted by the actors in the field. Crucially, critical analysis of both of these steps – policy production and policy interpretation – reveals that neither can exist outside of their contexts nor be seen as ‘objective’. On the contrary, policies have been called ‘authoritative allocations of values’ (Anderson, 1979; Ball, 1990; Easton, 1953; Prunty, 1985) with both the *who* and the *how* of policy production needing deconstructing (Gale, 2007). Prunty (1985) argues that:

The authoritative allocation of values draws our attention to the centrality of power and control in the concept of policy, and requires us to consider not only whose values are represented in policy, but also how these values have become institutionalised. (Prunty, 1985:136, cited in Gale, 2007:220)

So even though teachers are bound and directed by many national and local level policies (for example those relating to equality and anti-discrimination), this study is built on the need to question the idea of ‘policy implementation’. Ball (1990:3) believes that ‘values do not float free of their social context’. As much as the policies and their language are a representation of an ideal society (Ball, 1990) at a fixed point in time and place, how they affect teachers’ work

and what teachers choose to do with them in practice depends on structural, institutional and individual level factors. All three of those levels are of interest in this study.

This act of policy interpretation in itself is complex and calls for careful consideration. Here, I take a two-fold approach to this issue. It is based on the premise that teachers employ their multiple and socially constructed understandings of central policy concepts to fit them within their own normative assumptions and adapt them to their classroom realities. And because this inevitably leads to varied outcomes in policy interpretations between different schools and classrooms, this study is built on the interplay and a continuing tension between a) the need to describe, understand and interpret social sites and social actors (Merriam, 2009), reflecting the main aims of social constructionist and interpretive approaches in research; and b) the need to expose the power relations in our society, bring the privileged reality to the public fore, empower social actors through research and ultimately bring about change, which reflects the critical paradigm.

My study is inductive, aiming to understand, amongst other things, how ideas and meanings incorporated in education policy get interpreted (or subverted) by class teachers and other actors in the field. This is why I chose the critical interpretive lens, and not a positivist or postmodernist one.

4.2.3 Understanding ‘organizational embeddedness’ and ‘institutional thinking’

This study is concerned not only with personal, but also with structural and institutional aspects of teachers’ work. Both the interpretive and the critical lens recognise ‘organizational embeddedness’ (Gubrium, 1988; Gubrium and Holstein, 1990; Holstein and Gubrium, 1998) and ‘institutional thinking’ (Douglas, 1986). I find these concepts as important to consider as individual agency, as I think they are all inextricably linked. Whether or not individual teachers comply with or rebel against the prevailing institutional thinking is a matter for my data analysis, but such relationship is a given at the stage of conceptualising this research.

Following Douglas (1986), I see ‘institutions [as] organized social conventions involving typical and routine ways of representing social reality’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:149). Every teacher, within every school, in the context of its Local Education Authority and broader national education system, will therefore be deeply embedded in:

Contextually grounded discourses, vocabularies, and categories [which] form local interpretive resources or cultures for defining and classifying aspects of everyday life. (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:149)

Holstein and Gubrium (1998:149) note that these ‘typical and routine ways of representing social reality’ are very powerful, and are what Michel Foucault called ‘discursive formations’ (Foucault, 1972). This pointer to the issue of ‘contextually grounded discourses’ is an important aspect of this study, and will be returned to when discussing choosing the method and the analytical approach. At this point, however, it is important to note that the aforementioned interplay between social-constructionist interpretive and critical paradigms also allows one to carry out a robust analysis of such discourses. A critical standpoint especially lends itself to the analysis of such discourses and vocabularies, and is essential from a critically multicultural perspective on the research topic.

4.2.4 The links between language, meaning and context

A social constructivist and interpretive view on knowledge and its sources has its roots in hermeneutics and phenomenology. Phenomenology sees social actors’ lived experience as underpinning and actively constructing all knowledge (Husserl, 1970). Shutz (1970), developing Husserl’s thought, claimed that individuals apply this socially constructed knowledge, including ‘images, theories, ideas, values and attitudes... to aspects of experience, making them meaningful’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:139). Shutz (1970) stressed that this common sense ‘stock of knowledge’ was social in origin and at the same time ‘always essentially incomplete, open-ended’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:139). Crucially, it is through language that meaning is conveyed and transmitted.

It is worthwhile to pause for a moment and consider the full complexity of meanings people apply to both their experience and categories of thought, as reflected in their use of language. Making meaning requires a substantial interpretive effort. Moreover, an ethnomethodological perspective on interpretive procedures asserts that ‘meanings are essentially *indexical*, that is they depend on context’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:142). This is again crucial in my approach to this research. All three categories – language, meaning and context - are multi-layered, and not confined to an individual, nor to an organisational culture. My research aims to explore the issue of multicultural and antiracist education within and between those various layers, looking for the potential interdependence and for the spaces where either individual or institutional understandings prevail. I am interested in finding out how teachers construct their understanding of what multicultural and anti-racist education can be; what meanings they ascribe to the concept, how it compares with the institutional (policy) and national (legislation) narratives of ‘race equality’; and finally how this plays out on a practical level. The specific research questions guiding this study are described in detail in later sections of this chapter.

4.3 Choosing the method

A focus on meanings, encapsulated in the use of language, both informal (everyday) and formal (as found in policy), requires a careful choice of a methodological approach. To deal with the complexities described before, this research can be split into three levels of inquiry:

- the individual (micro) level,
- school and local authority (meso) level,
- the wider, socio-historical context of Scotland, reflected amongst others in national legislation and then translated into a local educational policy language (the macro level).

It quickly becomes clear that choosing one method might put too many limitations on the possibilities of robust data collection and analysis of what is already a small-scale study. This is why I chose a mixed-method approach, structured by the way of designing two nested case studies. Each of the case studies reflects the micro, meso and macro levels of enquiry. The

subjects of each case study are one Local Education Authority and two primary schools with a carefully chosen variety of their staff. The methods used for data collection are interviews, observations, policy gathering and analysis. I will now explain decision for my choices, linking them with the paradigms which influenced my work. I am leaving the detailed description of case studies and the methods themselves for later sections of this chapter (see section 4.5.3).

Qualitative researchers face a wide range of potential methods to choose from. In fact, many argue that in the process of making this decision, the researcher turns into ‘a methodological (and epistemological) bricoleur’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:681), who ‘constructs research methods from the tools at hand’ (Kincheloe, 2005:324) to find the best answers to their research questions. It is accepted that qualitative research is:

A form of social inquiry that tends to adopt a flexible and data-driven research design, to use relatively unstructured data, to emphasize the essential role of subjectivity in the research process, to study a small number of naturally occurring cases in detail, and to use verbal rather than statistical forms of analysis. (Hammersley, 2013:12)

Ultimately, however, the combination of the researcher’s epistemological stance with the research topic itself will determine the best choice of research methods, which, some claim, ‘in themselves have no intrinsic value’ (Silverman, 2011:166).

There is another difficulty pertaining to the nature of the research process itself. Despite a plethora of qualitative research method to choose from, Miller and Glassner (1997) state that:

Research cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, [but] it may provide access to meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds. (Miller and Glassner, 1997: 100)

Those meanings are actively constructed by people, never unambiguous, nor clearly and neutrally spelled out for the researcher - the researcher adds his or her own layer of interpretation to make sense of somebody else’s world. The fact that the researcher’s access to other people’s interpretation of meaning can be disputed must be acknowledged. Since I accept they are always re-interpreted, I find useful a hermeneutical position advocating that in analysis, ‘interpretation should be given more standing than explanation and description’

(Gray, 2004:23). Moreover, I propose that people's 'social worlds' can be understood on all the three levels listed at the start of this section, thereby making the individually-constructed realities of teachers, the worlds they construct through social relations in the school context, and the wider national context, all important variables in this research.

As the philosophers Gadamer, Heidegger and Rorty purported, because interpretation of meaning is such a confusing, incoherent business, understanding people cannot be achieved by adhering to a strict, prescribed method. Interpretive research therefore 'is necessarily an uncertain process that relies upon openness to the world, and on the exercise of personal capacities, especially the imagination, rather than upon any method' (Hammersley, 2013:28). I acknowledge that another researcher could go about the same topic in an entirely different manner, choosing to use very different methods to those I chose, even if informed by similar theoretical underpinnings.

To link the choice of methods back to the theoretical underpinnings of this study, I will demonstrate how the critically interpretive lens plays out in this study. Phenomenologically informed researchers would strive to put themselves in the place of the research subject, to explore 'prevailing cultural understandings' (Gray, 2004:21). This is because people:

Actively interpret or make sense of their environments and themselves; that the ways in which they do this are shaped by particular cultures in which they live; and that these distinctive cultural orientations will strongly influence not only what they believe in but also what they do (Hammersley, 2013:26).

I subscribe to this view and reflect it in the choice of research questions. However, critical theorist would go further to say that it is not simply a matter of common culture – but that in fact it is near impossible to divorce our attitudes, thought and even action from the oppressive powers that shape that culture. Critical research therefore rejects neutrality, opting instead for 'partisanship' (Gomm, 2004), in order to bring about social change (and often target this change at a particular group under oppression). My research, through its anti-racist and critically multicultural lens, presupposes that teachers' views are inseparably influenced by social inequality and racism. Other forms of discrimination, pertaining to ethnicity, language,

religion, class, gender and sexual orientation, are important players in the field of education, and will all feature (in various degrees) in this research.

Critical theorists would argue for a method enabling emancipatory research, one that would be capable of bringing about social change in the course of completing a project. This, although tempting, I felt was beyond my reach. Initially, I was keen on including a few focus group interviews at the end of the data collection process. Teachers from each case study would have been invited to comment on my emerging findings and influence the analytical process. They would also have been encouraged to share their beliefs and to find out what are other primary teachers' perspectives on cultural pluralism and race equality in education, what terminology they use and how they understand the main concepts of this field. However, I was concerned this would not really constitute a true power-sharing exercise or encourage 'self-examination' of teacher attitudes. Also for practical reasons, I did not eventually choose any action-research type of method. I turned back to interpretive practice, at the same time developing the rationale for employing interviews, observations and policy work.

Holding onto the critical idea of the need to make 'moral judgements about social arrangements and attempt to change them' (Gomm, 2004:285) it was necessary first to get to know the contexts of teachers' work (both macro and meso), then to go deeper, working with individual teachers to understand their hierarchies of values and how they constructed their worlds. This allowed me to accommodate the idea that in interpretive research 'value is ascribed not only to the interpretations of researchers, but also of the subjects of the research themselves' (Gray, 2004:21). Gray goes on to say that phenomenological research would strive, in its inductive approach, to 'find the internal logic of the subject' (Gray, 2004:21). I add a critical lens 'by weaving [teacher] personal narratives into larger cultural stories' (Miller and Glassner, 1997:106). This is what guides my research, coupled with a focus on language, meaning-production and policy influences on teacher attitudes and activism.

Such a multi-dimensional perspective and the identified need for openness in choosing the method, led me towards a mixed-method approach. Through conducting interviews with teachers, I try to give them voice to present their personal logic and understandings. But I also

seek to understand this ‘internal logic’ of the organisation they work in, noting the fundamental importance of context (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014). Therefore I chose to observe the teachers in their context (mostly in the classrooms) and also interview other school staff, namely the Head Teachers and EAL Teachers, who have a different perspective on the school. Additionally, policy collection and analysis allowed me to look deeper into the particular school’s and local authority’s interpretation of multicultural and anti-racist education, and finally to go back and make links with both individual teachers’ perspectives, and the meso- and macro-level language of educational policy, looking for cause and effect relationships. The separate elements of this mixed-method approach are described in detail in Chapter 5.

Other methods could have been employed in the pursuit of this study: narrative, life-story types of interviews, or perhaps ethnography, with its quest for an in-depth understanding. However, because in my analysis I am adopting a critical interpretive lens, I decided that it would be most suitable to look at the entirety of the issue from different angles. Hence the choice of employing mixed methods within a case study approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Stake, 1995, 1998). The ‘researcher-as bricoleur’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:xv) chooses a case study ‘not as a methodological choice, but a choice of objects to be studied’. Stake argues that ‘ultimately, we may be more interested in a phenomenon or a population of cases rather than in the individual case’ but ‘we cannot understand this case without knowing about other cases’ (Stake, 1998:87). This particular nested case study approach will be explained in section 5.3. of the following chapter.

To summarise, a qualitative approach with the use of multiple methods, located within nested case studies, allows me to achieve two goals. The first is being able to cover the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of inquiry from a number of methodological perspectives, ensuring the robustness and saturation of data. The second is the ability to choose analytical approaches according to the fit with a) the overall multi-level system of analysis within and between case studies; and b) the individual data collection methods. This is why in analysis I am using elements of interpretive practice as well as aspects of Critical Theory (the specific analytical choices are explained in section 5.7.) In all this, I am striving for a continuously critical reflection on the roots of the encountered attitudes, linguistic formations and also reported and

observed practices. Without the critical lens, research on social justice, racism and discrimination would remain superficial.

4.4 Role of the researcher and study aims

So how does my epistemological stance link with the role of the researcher, the aims of this study and methods chosen to pursue it?

I see my role as a researcher as twofold. Firstly, I believe that documenting and understanding the current state of multicultural and antiracist work in primary schools is important and valuable in itself. Without negating the existence of multiple interpretations of reality, but in fact discussing these multiple realities openly, as situated in their political, cultural and linguistic contexts, I hope to be able to achieve more imaginative and useful interpretations of the factors determining successful, critically multicultural school practices. This attitude not only presupposes subjectivity in research but ‘treats subjectivity as a topic for investigation in its own right’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:140). It also requires the researcher to be reflexive, acknowledging impossibility of being truly neutral at any stage of the research process, and to be explicit in analysis of the researcher’s role ‘in actually producing research findings’ (Davis, 2000:193). Therefore my own interpretation of what is a good example of critically multicultural practice will be a part of the study, as much as the individual perspectives of the research participants on the topic. However, by using and unpacking the currently prevailing terminology and language of ‘race equality’, and comparing it with that of multicultural and antiracist education, I am able to examine their underlying meanings, functions and the preconceptions on which they are based.

Secondly, the researcher’s role in my view is to engage with the discourse of power from a critical standpoint. After Davis (2000), I believe that:

The researcher’s role should not simply be to confront oppressive practices (Oliver, 1999), but also to unpick both the pillars upon which these practices are built and the vested interests which sustain them. (Davis, 2000:200)

Exposing the power relations underpinning our realities and actions is very important, especially in the social context of Scottish schools, where the existence of racism is often denied. I have discussed earlier the next necessary step from exposing dominant powers hidden in our use of language and our beliefs: challenging the intricate components that make them. Although I was cautious to admit my research would be a catalyst for teacher self-reflection, a number of my research participants mentioned feeling supported and invigorated in their commitment to equality by being part of this project.

This reflects one of the aims of this study, built on the theory of critical multiculturalism (May and Sleeter, 2010), as discussed in Chapter 2. Here, the researcher's role is recognised in two spheres: as a possibility to influence the research participants themselves (or other people encountered during the fieldwork), for example by enabling or inspiring dialogue which otherwise would not take place; or by 'contributing to structural and cultural change by attempting to influence the people who hold power over professionals who work at the local level' (Davis, 2000:201), whether at a school, local authority, or national policy-maker level. This is reflected in the notion of inter-dependency, which calls for 'mutual exchange of viewpoints', allowing the powerful and the powerless growth, recognition and understanding (Bakhtin, 1986; Corker, 2000, cited in Davis, 2000).

In other words, this research strives to be significant and is cautiously optimistic in its outlook. I believe that researcher has the 'capacity to create the theoretical basis from which others actually bring about change' (Davis, 2000:201), even if it is on a small scale to begin with. I want my research to be meaningful, therefore I will use teachers' own voices and experiences as the basis for a large part of the analysis. So as to give back to the participants and to enable change, I will also go back to the participating schools and report on the findings.

The main aim of my study is to find out what understandings of multicultural and antiracist education prevail in selected primary schools, through examples of 9 Scottish teachers. I set out to determine if critical multicultural and antiracist values are part of today's primary teachers' work: both in terms of top-down policy prescriptions and bottom-up practical initiatives. In this work, I want to capture the teachers' own understandings of their role and

agency; and to explore if teachers feel empowered or disempowered in the process and context of their work to take up issues such as inequality, justice, and identity formation. Are there many activist teachers, who may be seeking social transformation through education? If so, how do they go about it? Do teachers truly believe this is possible, within their local contexts, embedded in the wider national policy context? I want to understand teacher attitudes to social justice, equality and ethnic diversity in schools, but at the same reflect on the nature of multicultural practices in the classrooms that I visited and offer some thoughts on the implications for policy and practice.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical, epistemological and analytical contexts of my study. Firstly, I explained the rationale for using critical realism as the main theoretical framework. I positioned this research in relation to current discussions on methodological choices and analytical approaches, arguing for use of mixed methods within a nested case study design and a critically interpretive lens rooted in the theory of social constructionism. Having outlined the theoretical elements of this study's composition, as well as its aims and rationale, I will now set out the research design. In the following chapter, I will describe the chosen methodological approach in more detail, beginning by outlining the research questions around which my study was built.

Chapter 5

Methodology: research design

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the methodological elements of my research design. To begin with, research questions are presented, linking the topic of ‘race’ equality with the core setting of primary education and the role of class teachers in advancing or stalling it in practice. This is followed by a detailed description of the study’s design: the rationale for choosing a nested case study approach and the specific methods of data collection, with their limitations acknowledged. I then describe the research activities undertaken in and outwith primary schools and the range of data collected. The contingent nature of this data is recognized and explained. Next, the process of data analysis is presented, paying close attention to how I arrived at the themes and structured research findings. I then move on to discussing ethical issues, including my own positionality in this research and how it has changed and developed over the course of this study. Reflexivity is given prominence in this part of the chapter, aiming to problematize the issue of objectivity in the processes of data gathering and analysis. Instead of using the language of validity and reliability I consider trustworthiness as authenticity and critical reflection. This essential chapter allows me then to move on to presentation of findings in the following three chapters.

5.2 Research questions

The main question which this study posed was formulated as follows:

What are the perspectives of primary school teachers on multicultural and anti-racist education in two Scottish Local Authorities?

Four Research Questions (RQ) guided this enquiry:

RQ1: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of what is meant by multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

RQ2: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of education policy related to multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

RQ3: What attitudes do teachers have towards cultural diversity in and outside the school?

RQ4: How do teachers' understandings, attitudes and beliefs related to the above impact on their practice?

The above Research Questions were also categorised in another way, by referring to different aspects of a teacher's life and roles:

- RQ1 relates to the professional level
- RQ2 relates to the policy level
- RQ3 relates to the personal level
- RQ4 relates to the level of practice, all embedded in their multi-layered context.

5.3 Research setting and strategy

The primary school level of education was chosen for a reason I have been holding close to my heart since the time of my own Initial Teacher Education. As a qualified Early Years and Primary school teacher I firmly believe that especially with young children, the scope for critically multicultural work is vast. As presented in Chapter 2 (Literature review), young children's potential and readiness 'to value diversity in its various forms so that [they] grow up citizens attuned to an inclusive and internationalist culture' (Lister, 2000, p. 47) has been acknowledged in academia. The discourse of Children's Rights and wider Human Rights in educational settings has paved the way for giving children more power and agency. Many Scottish primary schools these days take pride in being recognised as Rights Respecting

Schools, a title awarded by UNICEF for ‘achievement in putting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) at the heart of a school’s practice’ (UNICEF UK, 2004) It is increasingly seen as important that all children learn to respect and value all others, and as a result challenge culturally embedded prejudice and inequality.

David Almond, a renowned British children’s book author, said that cultural developments come about through children (discussant in a panel held at the Edinburgh International Book Festival, 2015). Although it was said in the context of bringing translated stories from around the world to English-speaking children, it is hard to argue against the generalisability of his stance. Academic research also supports the notion that multicultural and anti-racist education is valid for all ages and recommends that ‘children should be taught race-equality from an early age on’ (MEPESS, p. 147). This is the time when children are very open to the world around them, curious about the places, nature and people that make up. They have a strong sense of right and wrong and when they are empowered to do so, find it natural to defend justice. I believe that primary school teachers can have a great and lasting impact on the children in their care, acting as role models, uprooting deep-seated, divisive stereotypes and encouraging authentic critical thought around the issues of justice and equality. As a traditional Polish saying goes: “Czego Jaś się nie nauczy, tego Jan nie będzie umiał” – What Johnny won’t learn, John won’t be able to do.

But, do Scottish primary school teachers do that work? I explained above my drive to tackle culturally-embedded prejudice, however we must not forget about the structural level. As was described in the Policy chapter (Chapter 3), Public Sector Equality Duty requires all schools and all teachers to have ‘due regard’ to the need to eliminate unlawful discrimination, foster good relations and advance equality of opportunity. But what does that mean in practice? Are schools and teachers interested in and able to take on personal, cultural and structural aspects of inequality and social justice issues in their daily work? What do they have scope for? What is their understanding of the idea of pursuing and protecting ‘race equality’ in Scotland?

Because the Research Questions span various aspects of teachers’ life and role, as shown in section 5.1, the strategy undertaken to answer them followed a nested case study design. This

design was chosen to fit with the macro, the meso and the micro levels of analysis and will now be explained in more detail.

5.4 Nested case studies

Case studies fall under a considerable number of typologies and categories (Stake, 1998, Gray, 2004, Yin, 1993, Yin, 1994). They are frequently used in various types of research but also frequently criticised for what they claim they can achieve (for example, is it understanding of a single case or set of cases, or can researchers attempt generalisation). Yin (1993) suggests versatility of case studies in that they can be employed ‘as both qualitative *and* quantitative method’ (cited in Gray, 2004:123), however contemporary social science consider case study designs as more likely to be used qualitatively (Stake, 1998; Gray, 2004; Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014).

Most case studies can be identified as sharing a specific set of components. A list by Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls (2014:66) includes:

- ‘focusing on an individual unit (Flyberg, 2001; Stake, 2008)
- the fact that the study is detailed and intensive (Bryman, 2012; Hagan, 2006)
- the fact that phenomenon is situated in context (Creswell, 2013; Holloway and Wheeler, 2010; Yin, 2009)
- the use of multiple data-collection methods (Creswell, 2013; Berg and Lune, 2012; Holloway and Wheeler, 2010)’

The importance of context, the possibility of gaining insights into a variety of perspectives on a ‘bounded system’ (Smith, 1978, cited in Stake, 1998:87) and a mixed-method approach are all the elements which I employ in this study. Furthermore, a case study understood as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (Yin, 1994:13, cited in Gray, 2004:123), points the researcher in the direction of ‘understanding [that] needs to be holistic, comprehensive and contextualised (Lewis and

McNaughton Nicholls, 2014:67). These attributes can be seen as strengths of case study research design.

Case studies can attract criticism for not being a 'reliable, objective and legitimate' source of knowledge (Yin, 1994). However, Yin (1994) highlights the fact that across science, to become accepted, claims need to be replicated in multiple cases. Studying individual cases of any phenomena allows one therefore to strengthen wider claims being inferred. Glaser and Strauss (1967) propose that the process of analysis must include a constant comparison among groups, concepts and observations with the view of developing 'an understanding that encompasses all instances of the process, or case, under the investigation' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: xiv). I am cautious about making generalisations on a national level, but, like Gomm et al. (2000) I believe that to a certain degree, researchers can successfully make claims stretching beyond original cases studied. Yin (1994) and Bryman (1998) also support this view, pointing out that both reliability and external validity of case study research can be ensured by increasing the number of cases studied or replicating them a few times. I will return to discuss trustworthiness in section 5.9.

So, which type of case study design did I choose? My particular approach underwent a considerable development over the life of this study. Initially, I considered taking a collective instrumental case study approach (Stake, 1998). Within this approach, the researcher studies a number of cases jointly and then focuses on their specific and generic properties, looking for similarities and differences between them, as well as identifying particularities. The cases aren't chosen randomly, sampling is purposive or theoretical, aiming for achieving 'better understanding, perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases' (Stake, 1998:89). Such a strategy was able to reflect my social constructionist and critical theorist positions, and remains an important step in the processes of research design and analysis.

However, going back and forth through the micro, meso and macro levels of inquiry (see section 4.3 in Chapter 4) is central to this study. I therefore had to decide in which layers I should position the comparative aspects of analysis. Additionally, the interplay between the different aspects of a teacher's life and role (the personal, professional, policy and practice

levels, see section 4.5.1) begged for an analytical framework that was not based solely on one unit, for example the teacher, or the school. This fed into the creation of a system which allows for an organised, systematic, multi-level analysis.

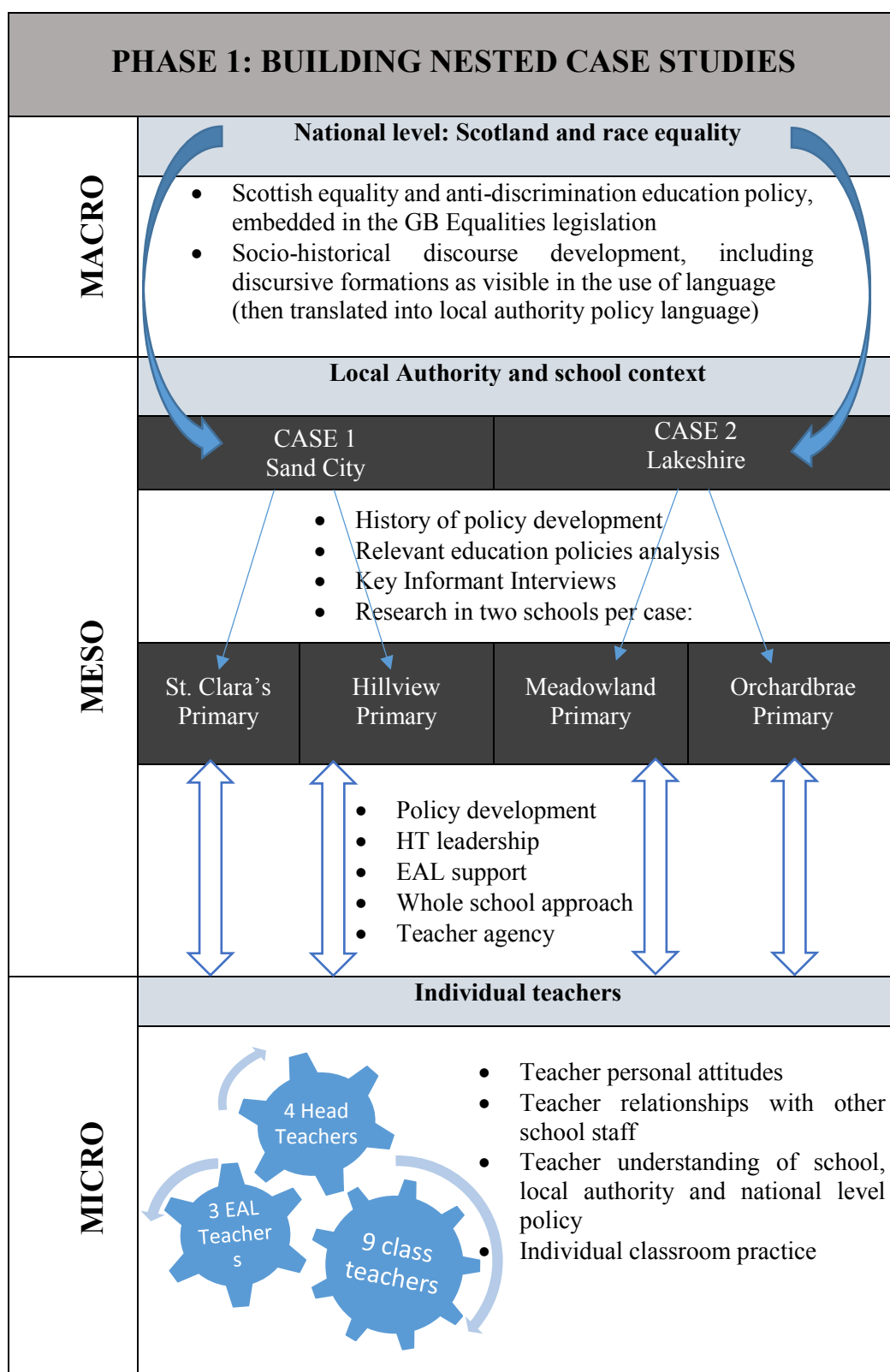
I chose a nested case study design (Chong and Graham, 2013) on the belief that:

While multi-case studies can assist in the understanding of the influence wielded by cultural, social, economic, historical and political forces on education policy decision-making and system design, geographically ‘bounded’ case studies are not enough. (...) A scaled approach that travels through macro, meso and micro levels to build nested case-studies allows more comprehensive analysis of both external/global and internal/local factors that shape policy-making and education systems. [Additionally,] such an approach allows for deeper understanding of the relationship between globalizing trends and policy developments. (Chong and Graham, 2013:23-14)

This approach presents a number of advantages. It allows me to look at various actors in their settings without the need to choose what will constitute my primary case. A narrow view on what a case can be could also be prone to disregarding wider socio-historical contexts (Novoa and Yariv-Mashal, 2003; Crossley and Broadfoot, 1992). In my study, the macro-level socio-cultural context is important, because meta-narratives of inclusion and otherness impact on meso-level discourses of race equality (and by extension on how multicultural and anti-racist education are conceptualised). If I wasn’t able to include all these levels in my study, I would be showing what Chong and Graham (2013:24) called a ‘disrespect for ‘history of the present’ (Foucault, 1994)’.

In the end, I decided to bind the case studies by their contexts. In the two subsequent figures (Figure 5.1 and 5.2) I present a model of how the cases were arranged and then analysed. Figure 5.1. depicts the first phase of this process: building the nested cases. It can be seen on page 91.

Figure 5.1. A model of nested case studies for vertical comparison across the macro, meso and micro levels of inquiry. Phase 1: building nested case studies.



The macro, meso and micro levels of inquiry have defined boundaries in this study:

- Macro level consists of Scottish equality and anti-discrimination education policy, embedded in the GB Equalities legislation and the national socio-historical context;
- Meso level consists of two Local Authorities (Sand City and Lakeshire) and two primary schools in each of them (4 schools in total);
- Micro level consists of 9 individual class teachers, 4 Head teachers and 3 EAL teachers between those 4 schools.

On the micro level, Class Teachers remain the focus, in order to answer the main Research Questions of this study. Head Teachers and EAL Teachers are therefore seen as having a secondary role, although potentially instrumental in exerting influence on the class teachers (and vice versa). Similarly, individual teachers at the micro level are seen as potentially exerting influence on the meso-level of schools. Hence the double-pointed arrows between the schools and individual teachers in Figure 5.1, as well as the gear shapes at the bottom to show the interlocking nature of how different schools actors can influence school practices.

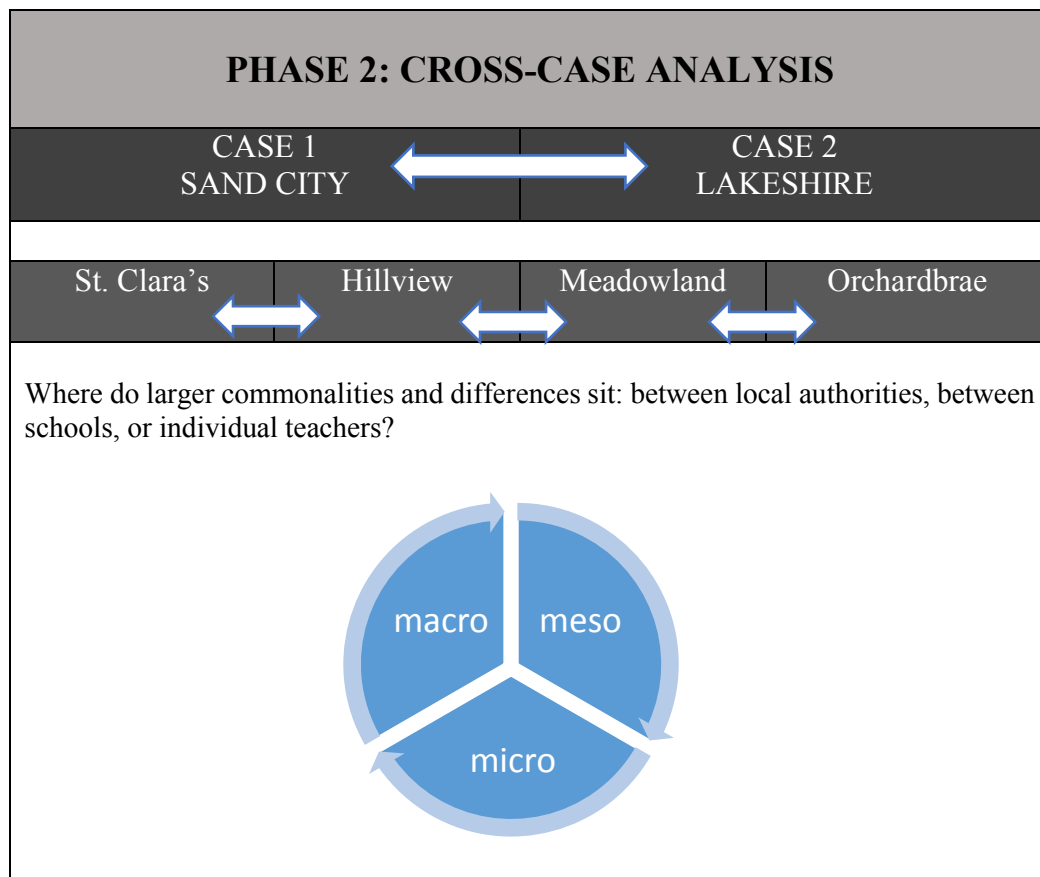
The meso-level of schools and their local authorities is the central level for the purposes of policy-bound analysis, to investigate the nature of policy mediation between all three levels and ultimately its translation (or subversion) in practice. Each local authority is therefore a separate case, united by their historical approaches to ‘race’ equality, their current policies and demographical differences. Both schools within each local authority may show similarities due to the above factors: this will be another layer of my analysis.

However, each of the 4 schools presents another nested level of the cases studied. This is because there are distinct differences between all schools, for reasons not dissimilar from the differences between local authorities described above. Nesting cases in this way allows me to avoid blurring these differences in analysis. It is also the school that provides essential context for the work of individual class teachers, who are central in this study. The school level includes its ethos, any school-specific policies, as well as key staff with roles and responsibilities relevant to my topic.

Finally, within each school a small number of class teachers are approached and a detailed micro-level analysis of their case is built. Here I pay attention to teachers' individual dispositions, such as their beliefs, choices and confidence, as well as professional dispositions, such as commitment, skills, knowledge and understanding. This micro-level analysis is embedded within the meso-level context, to see to what degree the structural or personal factors act as barriers or enablers. Finally, the meso-level of schools and local education authorities is positioned within the national, macro level, which is also treated as a coherent case, influencing all the cases nested within it.

Figure 5.2 shows the second phase of the nested case study design: a model of cross-case analysis, enabling horizontal analysis and comparisons between the three levels of inquiry. It can be seen on page 94.

Figure 5.2. A model of building nested case studies for horizontal comparisons between the macro, meso and micro levels of inquiry (Phase 2).



Initially, comparisons are made between the local authorities, moving on to comparisons between schools, and finally between individual teachers. I am interested in locating the similarities and differences. In other words, what appears to matter more in the quest for critically multicultural education: teachers' own dispositions, or structural limitations/boundaries?

Having described the nested case study design, I now move onto the choice of participants.

5.5 Sample, issues of access and choice of participants

Knowing that 'any given classroom is like all classrooms, but no two classrooms are the same' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: xiv), the issue of sample was an important one. First, the local

authorities were chosen purposely (Ritchie et al., 2014), so that research was conducted in different socio-demographic settings. One was an urban, and the other a rural local authority. This choice allowed me later to reflect on the differences between urban and rural schools, and check if factors such as the local history of policy development and the presence of ethnic minorities actually influenced teacher attitudes or practices. Therefore, the two local authorities could have been any other urban and rural authority. The choice of Sand City and Lakeshire were mine: they were sufficiently different, yet both geographically convenient.

Data collection took place in four publicly funded schools, but the access to those varied between the authorities and therefore the types of school differed considerably, in ways which could not be controlled. There were also unintended consequences of gaining access through gatekeepers in the rural authority, as opposed to being able to choose them myself in the urban authority. Let me explain.

Initially, I was interested in using a maximum variation sampling method (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Ritchie et al., 2014), where the schools intentionally vary widely. Between them, I was interested in the following criteria:

1. a non-denominational socially advantaged primary school
2. a non-denominational socially disadvantaged primary school
3. a denominational primary school

This purposeful sampling was aimed at including intersectional perspectives within my research: allowing for a potential range of institutional responses to a diversity of social, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds in the pupil populations. Within the potential schools, I was also interested in reaching teachers who were widely different from one another in terms of age, gender, length of service and professional experience. During the research process, however, it became apparent that various issues of access would determine which schools and which teachers became parts of my sample.

Seeking permission to carry out my research in the two local authorities started with a formal application process. I prepared a leaflet about the study for the authorities (Appendix 1) as

well as for the schools (Appendix 2); I also filled in appropriate forms. I researched potential schools online and shortlisted a few that fulfilled my pre-set criteria, were of different sizes and social compositions. With the list in hand, I attended meetings with the local councils' staff. This is when the similarities ended.

In Sand City, an informal meeting with the Principal Officer (of) Equalities involved discussing my proposed project and resulted in refining my shortlist of schools and obtaining permission to contact any of them to seek their Head Teacher's consent. I had also previously spoken to the council's EAL staff and received some advice about the choice of schools. Looking for a true variety, I contacted a few schools, but faced many rejections. Eventually, the first school I was welcomed into was a denominational school in which I was already known, as it was one of the schools where I had worked in as a Bilingual Support Assistant, part of the city's EAL provision. This had its advantages. I already knew the staff, from the management, through the class teachers to the EAL teachers. Also, I continued to work in this school for another 3 years, which gave me strong insights into daily school practice and the longer-term developments there. I describe some of these in section 5.6.5. But equally, such a choice brought up other issues. For example, the difference in my role as a researcher and as a member of a specialist support staff group. This could have impacted on my interviewees and on the process of my own data analysis, which was not the case in any other school in this sample. These are significant considerations and I return to them in Chapter 7 and Chapter 10.

Finding the second school in Sand City took a very long time. Many Head Teachers were uninterested in this study, or initial talks dragged on and ended with no result. I also resisted the idea of approaching schools where staff would be very sympathetic, being already committed to the topic and considered prominent examples of 'good practice' in 'race' equality. However, nearly a year and a half later, I approached one of such 'good practice' schools, and very quickly it became my second urban sample school.

In Lakeshire, most decisions were made by local authority gatekeepers. I attended two formal meetings with the council staff to discuss the details of my application. My study was rigorously assessed and I was asked to clarify many points. With help from the rural authority's

EAL staff, a new shortlist of schools was created, one which included schools which were considered ‘good practice’ examples, or which had sympathetic Head Teachers. I was only allowed to choose from that list. Additionally, I was asked to show understanding of the fact that the authority was undergoing a process of development in the area of equalities, and therefore to withhold judgement in the presentation of my findings. The first two schools reached from this new list very quickly agreed to participate in the study.

There is a need to reflect on these two different processes of gaining access, and their results. Firstly, the whole process took a very long time and caused many delays in my fieldwork. Importantly, I did manage to involve schools which matched my initial selection criteria in both local authorities. However, I did not intend for 3 out of 4 sample schools to be specifically considered ‘good practice schools’, as this affects the overall findings, which I am mindful of in their presentation. It is worth adding that I did receive additional insights into the workings of the respective schools from the EAL staff who advised me in both authorities, and I will be making these visible later. They strongly felt that all schools would enable me to formulate powerful insights into desirable practices and attitudes. Finally, Key Informant interviews added new layers of thought about what has been considered effective or desirable in pursuit for ‘race’ equality in Scottish education over the last few decades. Overall, it can be argued that even though the sample schools looked to be disproportionately ‘good’, this research is set within a specific time and context and I cannot generalise beyond that.

In Figure 5.3, I present the general characteristics of the schools involved in this study (see page 98).

Figure 5.3. Overview of the schools within sample

Local Authority	School	School characteristics
Sand City	St. Clara's Primary	Urban, denominational School roll ¹ : 380 Minorities ² : >40% Social class ³ : mixed socio-economic status Free School Meals registration ⁴ : in line with national average Awards: Eco school
	Hillview Primary	Urban, non-denominational School roll: 460 + 80 in nursery Minorities: 12% Social class: predominantly middle to higher socio-economic status Free School Meals registration: below national average Awards: Eco school
Lakeshire	Meadowland Primary	Rural, non-denominational School roll: 120 + 40 in nursery Minorities: none (in the previous year: 2 children, now moved away) Social class: mixed socio-economic status Free School Meals registration: below national average Awards: Eco school
	Orchardbrae Primary	Rural, non-denominational School roll: 180 + 60 in nursery Minorities: 13% Traveller children, other ethnic minorities: <3% Social class: predominantly lower socio-economic status Free School Meals registration: twice national average Awards: Eco School, Rights Respecting School

1. Numbers have been rounded to the nearest 10 for each school.

2. Data provided by the respective Head Teachers. Definitions of minorities can therefore vary between them.

3. Classification based on Social Grades categories produced by the UK Office of National Statistics, SOC2010.

4. Data averaged from School Meals Census 2010, 2011 and 2012.

After each school was confirmed as willing to participate, I met with its Head Teacher to discuss the research and choice of participants within each institution. The collection of data within the school was outlined as consisting of:

1. an interview with the Head Teacher (30 min)
2. identifying 2 class teachers willing to take part in the study - this involved me spending 2-3 days with each of them in their classrooms, carrying out non-participant observations and following it up with an individual interview (1 hour)

3. an interview with the English as an Additional Language Teacher (1 hour), if there was one, or other visiting support teachers, where applicable
4. collecting relevant policies relating to equality, inclusion and diversity, which the school uses
5. observing the whole school during breaks, assemblies, special events etc. during the time of my presence on site, as well as taking notes on corridor and classroom displays.

All Head Teachers enabled the above. It was also the Head Teachers who suggested which class teachers to approach. Therefore they acted as gatekeepers to teachers, which I accepted from the start. I did ask the Heads for a range in specific characteristics in teachers. Similarly to the choice of schools, this study was designed for maximum variation between teachers, as described earlier. Age, gender and the length of service were the factors I stressed in my request. This was fairly successful in all four schools, enough to satisfy the design idea given the personnel available.

I think this way of choosing class teachers within this sample of schools was as good as any. Had I used a selection questionnaire, for example, it is likely I would have ended up with a self-selecting group. I accepted from the start that within those three 'good practice' schools the teachers chosen by the Heads will be those who were already committed to social justice issues. Head teachers were also open about it. Only in the fourth school, St. Clara's, the Head's choice was less clear. I did, however, already know the St. Clara's teachers, and can therefore be confident in the findings I will be presenting in the following chapter.

Overall, I managed to achieve a good representation of class teacher characteristics. They varied in terms of age, length of service, and experiences of teaching abroad. 7 class teachers were female and 2 were male, which is also fairly representative of the teaching population. However, all 9 were otherwise a rather homogenous group of middle-class, white, monolingual Scottish people, which enabled comparisons. Additionally, nearly the whole range of primary classrooms was visited during my fieldwork, as my research participants were class teachers in a P2, two P3, a P4, a composite P5/6/7, and two P7 classes.

It was not possible, however, to achieve a similar balance of other research interviewees from both local authorities. Those EAL Teachers who taught at the schools in Sand City were all included in this research (total of three teacher interviews between two schools). Neither of the Lakeshire schools received EAL support at the time and no other support staff was identified as instrumental to my aims. Similarly, five Key Informants were recruited in Sand City and only one in Lakeshire. This disproportionate number was not of my choosing. In the course of searching for potential participants I realised that the two authorities differ in many respects, as described below.

Sand City is a broadly affluent, urban area of Scotland, with pockets of social disadvantage. It is densely populated, with the percentage of minority ethnic population twice the size of the national figure of 4%¹. It has a long history of activity in the area of 'race' equality. Over the years, many practitioners have contributed to the development of policies and practices guiding the field, making it one of the leaders in education for equality and social justice. There were therefore many people with personal experience of active engagement who could be included in my study. The participants were chosen largely by snowball effect, as one Key Informant led me to another.

In Lakeshire, however, it was much more difficult to find appropriate people to interview. Lakeshire is a populous local authority, geographically predominantly rural, with some small and just a few larger towns. About a fifth of the population live in accessible rural areas², where this research was carried out. Such rural areas can be very deprived, with high rates of unemployment. There are however also pockets of rural social advantage. The local authority oversees a large number of schools and also has a record of some important initiatives relating to multicultural and anti-racist work. However, most of the ground breaking policy work done in Lakeshire originated in the small English as an Additional Language Service, which has significantly reduced the size of its team over the years. Most key staff have been let go or

¹ Data from Scotland's Census 2011

² Data derived from Scottish Government Urban/ Rural Classification 2009-2010. It defines Accessible Rural Areas as areas with a population of less than 3,000 people, and within a 30 minute drive time of a Settlement of 10,000 or more.

moved on over a decade ago, which resulted in a disproportionate representation of research participants between the two local authorities in this study.

Once all the arrangements were in place at the individual schools, fieldwork could commence. I will now turn to the process of data collection, outlining its timeframe and the specific research methods employed.

5.6 Fieldwork – a catalogue of research activities and collected data

Data collection within schools took place between March 2010 and September 2011. It took on average 2 weeks per school. Occasionally there was a gap of a few days between observations and interviews, for example if I needed to return to the school to conduct the Head Teacher interview at a later date, or follow up on EAL teachers outside of school. Other delays happened due to various issues: initially obtaining permits and then negotiating choice of schools was time-consuming; later in the year cold weather closed some schools down, additionally teachers and schools were only happy to welcome me at certain, less busy, times of the school year. Ultimately the fieldwork period stretched between a pilot interview with one EAL teacher in January 2010, the last school visit in September 2011 and the last Key Informant interview in March 2012.

In Figure 5.4. a general overview of the research activities carried out at schools is presented (see page 102).

Figure 5.4. Fieldwork: school-based activities

Local Authority	School	When data was collected	Interview participants	Total number of days of classroom observations
Sand City	St. Clara's Primary	March – May 2010	Class teachers (2) Head teacher (1) EAL Teachers (2)	Fiona P3 – 2,5 days Alina P4 – 2 days
	Hillview Primary	September 2011	Class teachers (2) Head teacher (1) EAL Teacher (1) Principal teacher (1)	Adrianna P7 – 3 days Andy P7 – 3,5 days
Lakeshire	Meadowland Primary	January 2011	Class teachers (3) Head teacher (1)	Natasha, Kelly, Bridget (2 teachers job share, 1 full time), composite class P5/6/7 – 5 days
	Orchardbrae Primary	March 2011	Class teachers (2) Head teacher (1)	Claire P2 – 2 days Michael P3 – 2 days

5.6.1 Interviews - Head Teachers, EAL Teachers and class teachers

Interviews are one of the most common methods in qualitative research, as they enable describing and interpreting people's social worlds (Ritchie et al., 2014). There is however a continuous debate as to how far interview data can allow the researcher an insight into another's experience. We can reject a positivist view of knowledge as fixed and therefore agree that it is open to the possibility of creating that knowledge or meaning. Kvale and Brinkman (2009, cited in Ritchie et al., 2014:178-179) compare those contrasting approaches to an 'interviewer as a miner or a traveller'. This second, traveller perspective fits with a constructivist paradigm of my research - proposing that in the interview process I play an

active role too. In engaging my respondents in creating and communicating of meanings, I pursue what Holstein and Gubrium (1997) call active interviewing.

An active interview presupposes a number of conditions, such as authenticity on the part of the interviewee and also on the researcher when analysing the interview (Silverman, 1993). These are very important points. Issues of validity and reliability of interview data have been raised by those concerned that the interview data may only stand within the context of the interview interaction, and not beyond it (Gomm, 2004).

Glassner and Loughlin (1987:33, cited in Miller and Glassner, 1997:103) believe ‘that two persons can communicate their perceptions to one another. Knowing full well that there are both structures and pollutants in any discussion, we choose to study what is said in that discussion’. I take what Ritchie et al. (2014) call a ‘pragmatic view’ on this subject. I agree that that interviews are bound by context, characteristics of the people involved, language used and many other factors specific to that interaction, and I choose to study that interaction, but not in a vacuum. Firstly, I think that interviews are still ‘meaningful beyond [their] immediate contexts’ (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009; Lofland et al., 2006; cited in Ritchie et al., 2014:180). Secondly, the multiple methods of data collection are in place to help triangulate the interview data, not to prove it or disprove it.

The active interview is seen as ‘potentially transformative to both parties’ (Ritchie et al., 2014:179), especially when it is seen as ‘unavoidably collaborative’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:114). Social construction of knowledge and meaning is given prominence and as such the interview situation must allow and encourage production of meaning. Douglas (1985) took this idea even further with his ‘creative interviewing’, by which he claims it is possible to gain a deep, mutual understanding based on a creative search in a ‘climate of mutual disclosure’ (Douglas, 1985; cited in Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:119).

Another view on the purposes of interviewing is to see the world of another through their eyes, encapsulating both their individual perspectives and the collective, or cultural stories (Miller and Glassner, 1997) that shine through the narrative. My research is based in topics which

many people consider sensitive, or difficult to talk about. One of my interests is to see why people think this way – could it be a matter of terminology or fear of ‘getting it wrong’? Or are there other, ideological reasons? In an active interview, I try to help my interviewees express their personal understandings, but also accept and look for the presence of prevailing cultural stories (Richardson, 1990) – whether they are visible or hidden; whether they are upheld or opposed. On the other hand, we can’t forget that my interviewees knowingly agreed to take part in a study about multicultural and antiracist education, which I understood as willingness to talk openly about those ‘difficult issues’. It remains to be seen in the Findings whether the teachers were truly happy to share their personal and professional perspectives equally and openly. For those reasons searching for ‘familiar narrative constructs’ (Miller and Glassner, 1997:101) was a major aspect of my interviews, both during the conversations and later in analysis. Richardson (1990, cited in Miller and Glassner, 1997:104) points out that the prevailing cultural stories are based on stereotypes, and points to an alternative, which he calls ‘collective stories’. These challenge ‘ruling interests and the normative order’ in two ways: either by revealing thoughts or feelings openly contradictory to the cultural narrative, or by exposing ‘ambivalence and uncertainty that lie behind respondents’ conformity’ (ibid).

As I mentioned towards the beginning of this chapter, both the *what* and the *how* of making meaning are of concern for this study. Implications for analysis include a focus to ‘reveal reality-constructing practices as well as the subjective meanings’ co-created in the interview, by using methods such as narrative and discourse analysis and conversational records of interpretive practice (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:127).

This is also an area of criticism though. Gomm (2004:166) for example speaks of ‘interviewer effects and respondent reactions’ as factors influencing the control over interview data. Interviewer effects include those caused by attributes inherent to the interviewer, for example age, gender, ethnicity, social class, accent, demeanour etc. I could not control those, but chose to disclose to my participants information about me and what motivates me in this research. I presented myself as a qualified primary teacher from another European country and a teacher of English as a foreign/second language, with experience in Scottish schools through working with an EAL Service. By doing so, I allowed the interviewees to decide if we shared

membership from a professional angle, if not in terms of national, linguistic or other characteristics. I saw myself as both an insider and an outsider in the system, and tried hard to treat the interviewees as experts, thereby placing them in a position to share the control (Miller and Glassner, 1997). Reflexivity was an ongoing concern for me during the interview and in analysis.

The design of the interview schedule (Appendix 3) was influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, it was guided closely by the four Research Questions this study poses. I organised the potential questions to be asked under organising headings, each of which related to one RQ. I began by asking general, non-threatening questions about the social composition of each class and the whole school community, in order to put the teacher at ease, but also to find out whether there are any minority ethnic children represented in any given class as well as to find out more about the social context of each school. As explained before, the context of the school was seen as important for this study.

Secondly, I chose to ask questions about teachers' understanding of central terms originating in my literature review: beginning with equality and social justice, moving on to exploring with teachers their understandings of terms such as multicultural education, intercultural education, antiracist education and education for 'race' equality. All those terms were explored in detail, in order to elicit complex and, perhaps new, interpretations. I wanted to find out to what extent teachers are aware of those terms, and if so, where were they first encountered, and if they are meaningful.

A pilot interview was carried out before the commencement of data collection, with one EAL teacher I knew personally. The rationale for this pilot interview was to verify the wording of interview questions, especially those requiring conceptualisation of specific terminology, as described above. My interviewee reported that she found it difficult to discuss terms which she has never come across before, guessing what they might mean. She also reported that she was more at ease in discussions centring around the language of 'race' equality, and especially 'Equalities' in plural sense, as these were terms already used by her within the EAL service. On such feedback, I balanced which terms to keep and which to lose, and decided to drop

explicit mentioning of theories such as CRT, Critical Pedagogy and Critical Multiculturalism from my interview schedules, to enable participants to explore concepts which they would have had more chances of already coming across before. At the same time, I was prepared to hear from teachers that they are not so familiar even with the terms already used in education policy.

Thirdly, education policy was discussed during the interviews, with questions about national, local authority and school-level policies pertaining to racial diversity and discrimination. Having explored how the field of educational 'race' equality developed in the Scottish context in Chapter 3, it was necessary to follow up this historical overview with questions on the current state of policy to practice mediation. Were primary school teachers and Head teachers part of this discussion and development? Moreover, the relationship between teacher agency and policy mediation was to be explored, through questions pertaining to the engagement with and perceived usefulness of those identified policies. I also needed to establish what the policy landscape in each case study schools actually was, whether there was much variation between schools, and ultimately, how the users of those policies perceived their ideals and everyday applications.

The pilot interview also underlined the importance of exploring each interviewee's histories and experiences of interculturality. A Respondent Profile Sheet (Appendix 4) was designed as a prompt for me to ask each interviewee more details about any experiences of living or teaching abroad they might have had, or how mobile in general they were, hoping to direct the conversations to more personal stories as well. It worked very well in practice.

Another area of the interviews' content covered teachers' professional development, including a reflection on their prior knowledge and how it serves them in facing everyday practice issues. I asked about the support that teachers are (or should be) offered when taking on explicitly political issues of injustice and oppression. Do their colleagues and senior management help them navigate the field? Is the Curriculum for Excellence conducive to including issues of injustice and racial inequality in primary classrooms? Do they feel supported by the development of educational policies on promoting equality and social justice, or do they tend

to reach for them when they need to know how to react effectively to discrimination which is happening in their school? Those questions also included the needs of children with English as an Additional Language, and the role of specialist EAL teachers in advancing social justice and racial equality on the ground.

Finally, interviews were designed to balance the personal views of teachers with the structural and institutional pressures and/or enablers of their practices. Classroom observations also fed to the content of each interview, adding contextual information and allowing to explore less obvious aspects of everyday teaching practice, especially enabling reflexivity in teachers (see also section 5.6.2. for more details on the role of observations)

In advance of the interview, each interviewee was given an information leaflet about my study (see Appendix 2), where I explained its background and aims. I also offered all teachers the opportunity to see the interview schedule in advance. Not many took that option. Informed consent was sought from all participants individually – first by discussing the study and their willingness to take part, then again before commencing the interview. All interviewees were talked through the elements of informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, right to withdraw at any time, and their agreement was voice recorded. Additionally, each interviewee completed a Respondent Profile Sheet (Appendix 4). As explained above, information contained within these often acted as a jump start to our conversation, but it also included important biographical details, self-ascribed identity characteristics, and contact details, all supplied voluntarily. All interviews were voice recorded and transcribed by myself.

The individual interviews had a semi-structured design, so that a degree of flexibility was assured. For example, being able to pursue interesting issues observed in the classroom was paramount. This is why I aimed for the class teacher interviews to take place towards the end of my observations. I also expected that the teachers would influence the direction of our conversations, as their experiences and attitudes varied. I encouraged the teachers to engage in issues which they might have felt unsure about or were unfamiliar with through reminding them of no right and wrong answers. This included consideration of meanings of terms and approaches relating to multicultural and antiracist education, as opposed to theoretical

thoughts on 'race' equality, or evaluation of their merits. I sincerely wanted the teachers to gain from these interviews too, by reflecting on meanings that they personally ascribe to these issues, but which they may not have been fully aware of or had not had a chance to discuss too often. As Miller and Glassner note, 'a strength of qualitative interviewing is precisely its capacity to access self-reflexivity among interview subjects' (1997:104).

I prepared one interview schedule (Appendix 3) for class teachers, EAL and Head Teachers, and modified it as needed during the interviews. For example, Head Teachers were able to offer more details about the school and policy context, whereas EAL teachers commented in whether the curriculum is culturally responsive as eagerly as class teachers. The interview schedule contained 15 main questions and a set of supplementary questions which were at hand for me to use. All questions were asked of class teachers and EAL teachers during interviews, albeit in various orders. The Head teacher interviews were slightly different, as they centred on four themes: school-specific challenges for inclusion and social justice; policy production and policy translation at the local authority and school level; whole school approaches to 'race' equality and how bold the Heads thought teachers were in mainstreaming this kind of work.

Head teacher interviews took place during the school day or straight after, in their offices, lasting between 30 minutes and 1 hour. The Head teachers offered me an in-depth understanding of the whole school environments and were able to shine light on areas not mentioned by the class teachers. School-specific documents relating to the 'race equality', such as codes of conduct, anti-bullying or anti-discrimination policies were collected mostly at this stage. In one school, a Principal Teacher volunteered to be interviewed out of his own interest in the topic area. He complemented the Head teacher's interview by discussing the whole-school perspective, as well as adding his own.

To enrich a picture of the whole school and its attitudes to diversity and equality, I sought views of the schools' EAL teachers. Three such teachers from Sand City were interviewed. Each interview took place outside of the school, in a café or a restaurant, lasting an hour or so. An interview pattern similar to the one with class teacher was followed, in order to seek an in-

depth understanding of the specialist staff's perspectives on structural and organisational matters, such as additional insights on whole-school approaches and the Head's and class teachers' attitudes to multicultural and antiracist education. Individual understandings were also sought, relating to both policy and practice. The issue of relationships between specialist and other school staff was also explored. During the interviews it quickly became apparent that EAL teachers had a more informed understanding of equality issues and the situation of minority ethnic pupils at school, therefore I was interested to find out to what degree they thought they could influence class teachers' practices and their underlying assumptions, themselves.

Finally, interviews with individual class teachers lasted about an hour, and took place in a venue of their choice. Most happened in schools, either at the end of the day, or when the teacher had an hour to spare in their timetable during the school day. One teacher chose to go to a café. One teacher invited me to her home, which was near the school, at the end of the day. Only one teacher really seemed to struggle to find the time to talk, and we had to split the interview into two parts, between which over a month had passed. Overall, the teachers were talkative and I was able to exhaust my questions. 9 interviews were carried out with class teachers.

5.6.2 Observations - teachers, classrooms and the ethos of the whole school

Observations of teachers in their classrooms were considered an integral part of this study, but not a key method of data collection. I was interested in gaining access to naturally occurring data, to enhance my understanding of the context in which teachers operate, scaffolding the analysis of interviews. Of course, the observations (as already discussed) enabled me to pull out elements of each teacher's practice and context of the school, to discuss in interviews. Otherwise, I would not have been able to steer the interviews into such depth of contextually-informed discussions.

Observations of teacher practice lasted around two-three school days per teacher. Even though short, they provided me with rich data. Had I stayed in the classroom longer, for example a

week in each, I would have gathered more observational data but I do not think that this is a serious flaw of design. These classroom observations were not meant to be checking whether the things said by the teachers were true. But within just a few days I was able to see if teachers had been including multicultural or antiracist contents and values on a daily basis, recognising the many natural opportunities for involving their students in actions, discussions, or other thought-provoking and critical processes of learning. Issues raised naturally were either taken up or ignored by the teachers. Observing the teachers at work also allowed me to capture missed opportunities, or stereotypical, discriminatory attitudes that they might unknowingly exhibit.

The nature of these observations was unstructured and varied between moderate and non-participation. Usually, I was sitting at the back of the class, taking notes in my notebook, describing the day and its activities as they unfolded. A sample of field notes forms Appendix 5. At times, however, I would join the class or individual children in some tasks. For example, I tended to be involved in more activities with the youngest classes, where the children often asked for my attention. I also sometimes participated in Polish bilingual children's learning, helping them complete certain small tasks if asked. As the time went by in each class, more children would approach me and ask questions. Similarly, in some cases class teachers were increasingly happier to involve me in some way in the life of the group.

The field notes constituted of a chronological record of all activities that were happening during the day in class. I paid special attention to observe and note what teachers say, where they spend their time, who they talk to most, what they react to and what they do not, what kind of pedagogy and beliefs about learning they practice in a visible way.

The existence of such field notes did not require much 'methodological planning for observations' but required me to tune into the atmosphere of the class, the teacher and to 'remain open in order to discover the elements making up the markers and tools that people mobilize in their interactions with others' (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997:9). By the markers Baszanger and Dodier mean 'representations of the world, or normative expectations, but also the linguistic and para-linguistic resources that are displayed in contact with the environment'

(ibid.). For me, this meant remaining open to potential points of interest in the way teachers approach their pupils, what terms carrying value they use in context of identity or diversity, as well as the expectations towards children exhibited through teacher actions. I took note of all and any evidence of past activities, physically present or talked about in the classroom. This is why I noted pretty much indiscriminately all that was happening, to return to the field notes at the end of the day, and to note to myself what details to ask teachers explicitly about. Sometimes I was able to ask those questions in the staff room, sometimes they formed part of the main interview. My field notes therefore included detailed descriptions of the days, analytic notes about the setting and my subjective reflections, appropriately separated (Merriam, 2009; Berg and Lune, 2012; cited in Ritchie et al., 2014). This is consistent with principles of interpretivism (Thomas, 2010).

I also noted attributes of the physical space: the displays and their themes, the room layout, who sat where, and how people interacted with each other. I took care to review and bring up as many of these unanswered issues during the interview, and was rather surprised at how many teachers would not have otherwise spoken about aspects of their practice which concerned difference, including past learning experiences the class had completed on related topics. I was able to ask about relationships and social struggles witnessed in class, even when teachers told me they did not find them meaningful.

A reflexive analysis of such data was required. I therefore revisited my notes as I was transcribing teacher interviews, to add contextual information. I also re-read them multiple times at the stages of interview analysis, to seek additional insights or remind myself of minute details of certain situations. However, as the field notes enabled me to ask teachers about many issues they brought up, the interviews remain the main research tool in this study, and reference to field notes is not very widespread within the Findings chapters.

The timing of my presence in each school was negotiated with the Head and the class teachers. It was a flexible arrangement, to suit everybody. Being at the schools on different days of the week was a plus, as the staff would get to know me slowly and vice versa, building rapport and immersing myself in the setting in order to understand and interpret it (Bryman, 2012). I

observed and took notes on the whole school, starting from its ethos and atmosphere, as felt throughout and seen in the staff room and in the corridors and other common spaces. I walked around the school grounds and looked for evidence of initiatives relating to the promotion of specific values and behaviours, whether relating to multiculturalism and equality or to anti-bullying and antidiscrimination. This enabled me to make note of events and activities that I would not be otherwise able to witness from within the classroom or learn about from school staff. Again, I asked all my interviewees about these later. Additionally, I was able to attend 2 school assemblies during my fieldwork, adding contextual data to the later descriptions of the school ethos or whole-school initiatives.

5.6.3 Policy collection

As explained earlier, policies are an integral part of teachers' professional life and one of the crucial aspects of Initial Teacher Education. As I am interested in the process of policy translation, this part of the study was significant in addressing its research questions. To remind the reader, the two relevant questions were:

RQ2: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of education policy related to multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

RQ4: How do teachers' understandings, attitudes and beliefs related to the [multicultural and antiracist education, policy and teacher own attitudes to cultural diversity] impact their practice?

In other words, it was my aim to assess how teachers' attitudes correspond to the attitudes expressed in education policy, and whether education policy had an impact on these attitudes.

The process of policy collection was split into three levels:

1. national policies on equality and racism (Scotland and UK)
2. local authority education policies (two sets of documents)
3. school level documents (with some overlap with the local authority)

National policies were obtained and accessed from the public domain, mostly the Westminster and the Scottish Government websites. Chapter 3 presented a detailed overview of this level.

At the local authority level I was looking at policies specifically translating Equalities legislation, such as guidance for schools on Public Sector Equality Duty, or other documents which the authority has prepared for the schools to use. They were partially available online, I also collected some through the Key Informants, the EAL Services and the schools themselves.

School level documents were collected from Head Teachers but they also formed a large part of the class teacher interviews. They ranged from anti-bullying and anti-discrimination policies to ones explicitly addressing racial inequality. There was a large variation across the schools, as well as between the authorities, and this will form a basis of the policy analysis presented in the Findings chapters. All documents were printed off or copied from the schools' hard copies.

5.6.4 Key Informant Interviews

Having described how the Key Informants were chosen for this study in section 5.5, I will turn to the nature and role of those interviewees. I was interested in talking to activists in the field, people who knew the historical developments in policy, as well as the narratives of 'race' in Scotland. Those people were also likely to have been involved in the development of policies at school or local level and had extensive experience of using them in practice. I was not interested in talking to policymakers at higher levels of the local or national governments, because my focus was on teacher interpretation of the a) discursive, narrative formations within those texts b) analysis of continuity and change in policy documents and in practice, and finally c) in the practice itself, meaning how teacher professionalism and agency guide them in relation to policy mediation.

Local Key Informants had this knowledge and understanding, and helped me contextualise the prevalent policy discourses and their language. Just as field notes from classroom and school

observations contributed to the content of teacher and Head teacher interviews, Key Informant interview data enabled me to understand the direction of policy discourse, including aspects of change and constant struggle for social justice and racial equality in Scottish education. This has contributed greatly to my analysis of policy as evident in Chapter 3, and to a smaller extent in the Findings chapters.

It was not possible to include much verbatim evidence from those interviews in the write up of this thesis, as the Findings chapters reported on cases of individual schools, with which the Key Informants were not at all, or very poorly connected. They are included implicitly in Chapter 3, as well as in the Discussion of Findings, when they explicitly add to or contrast strong perspectives of teachers or Head teachers on key issues raised.

The choice of Key Informants was as follows. I first targeted the specialist staff of the two respective EAL Services, well-known defenders of equality, multiculturalism and antiracism in Scottish education, I identified the one and only interviewee in Lakeshire and two in Sand City. The snowballing strategy worked very well in Sand City, as already described. Overall the 5 people involved showed a breadth and depth of knowledge, experience and unequivocal commitment.

Each interview followed a slightly different path, as it was unstructured, guided only by some general questions. What united them were the following themes:

- policy development in Scotland
- can policy and practice ever be aligned
- personal journey of experiences in multicultural and antiracist work in education
- barriers to progress over time
- an ideal world scenario: what would that be?

These interviews allowed me to gain insights into the larger picture of schools as embedded in a complex system, their governing bodies and the intricacies of doing multicultural and antiracist work on the ground. They were extremely valuable for my conceptualisation of the

Policy Chapter and also contributed to formulating the findings and discussion of each nested case study. These interviews also had a different feel to them from all others. This was due to a shared, open commitment to the cause, which I felt invigorated both sides, despite a certain disillusionment with the hardships of reality also clearly expressed.

The interviews were held in various offices and also varied in length. They were all recorded and transcribed, then analysed using thematic analysis. The themes identified fed into and complemented the themes identified from the interviews with other stakeholders in this research. I will return to this point in the Discussion and Conclusions chapters.

Figure 5.5 outlines the participants. Key Informant job titles and positions have been generalised to area of expertise only to ensure anonymity.

Figure 5.5. Key Informant Interviews

Local Authority	Key informant	Area of Expertise	When was interview held
Lakeshire	Walter	English as an Additional Language	21/02/2011
Sand City	Mary	Local Authority Education Equalities Office	12/10/2011
Sand City	Frederic	Head Teacher, primary	13/10/2011
Sand City	Sabina	English as an Additional Language	25/10/2011
Sand City	Paula	English as an Additional Language	16/03/2012

5.6.5 Engagement with schools after fieldwork

All schools and local authority education departments were offered feedback/dissemination of results sessions upon the completion of this study. I will prepare teacher-oriented sessions which will cover the findings from the particular schools and the overall answers to my research questions. I will be contacting the authorities and schools about this in autumn 2016.

However, I had already had a chance to become engaged in activities relating to ‘race equality’ as a result of my fieldwork in the sample schools and beyond that. It is worth mentioning that between 2009 and 2013 I worked part-time as a Bilingual Support Assistant (BSA) in primary schools of Sand City, and therefore was part of EAL staff in the city. Additionally, since 2009 I have also been working as an Associate Tutor in an Initial Teacher Education institution, where I have been teaching on courses relating to social justice and equality. This also involved collaborative work with the EAL Service at the university, designing and delivering sessions on tackling racism to pre-service teachers. These roles of mine, as a member of specialist support service (EAL) and as a teacher educator, contributed to the following events.

- **St. Clara’s Primary** – 8 months after my fieldwork (January 2011) I was involved, with two other dedicated EAL staff, in delivering a CPD session for the school’s teachers on the topic of race equality, legislation, theory and practice. This was very well received. It is worth noting that Learning Assistants were excluded from this session by the school management who scheduled it for a time outside of their working hours.
- Another 1.5 years later (in November 2012) I was invited to observe targeted work on ‘equalities’ in the same school. One class and their teacher, with the help of a dedicated EAL staff member, prepared over some weeks a presentation about what equality is all about at an assembly for the whole school. I was very happy to see that kind of work was being done. Pupil engagement at this enhanced their learning in an experiential way, and the presentation was more powerful for other pupils, having originated from their peers.
- **Hillview Primary** – straight after fieldwork (September 2011) I was involved in extensive ‘equalities’ work as part of a team consisting of senior school management team, two class teachers who took part in my study, and the same dedicated EAL member of staff. This was initially discussed a week after the end of my data collection at the school, I was happy to volunteer and join them. Two P7 classes worked in small groups over 5 weeks in November and December 2011. The workshops were held once a week, they were 1 hour long, divided into groups by topics relating to the

Protected Characteristics from the Equality Act 2010. Each staff member took on two topics. By January 2012 they were evaluated by all workshop leaders and next steps were discussed. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to participate in any further work the school has taken forward. However, I was back in the school in March 2012 for the presentation of this work from P7s to the whole school at an assembly, which was unique in my experience.

- **Meadowland Primary** – one class teacher used the opportunity of having me in the classroom during my fieldwork, and decided to treat my presence as a guest from another country. I took part in a class Q&A session about Poland and being Polish, migration, living in Scotland, bilingualism etc. This was an informal, 20 minute-long experience, but made me very happy, appreciated and helped me reflect on the nature of resources teachers choose to use in their work.
- **Orchardbrae Primary** – I have not been engaged in any further activities there.

5.7 Data analysis

As set out from the start, this research is built on interpretive, constructionist and critical tenets. Hammersley (2013) advocates giving thought to the question of ‘whose side are we on’ as researchers, and consequently ‘avoiding evaluations of people, actions, institutions, etc. being studied’ (Hammersley, 2013:17). Instead, he prefers to ‘document the perspective of all parties, while taking the validity of none of these at face value’. But as was illustrated earlier, documenting people’s perspectives in a neutral way is neither possible nor desirable in my case. Firstly, the web of influences on individual actors’ perspectives is too complex. Also, my own goals and values will always come through in the research. Consequently, the choice of analytical approaches must suit the research methodology employed. My approach can be best described as critically interpretive, built on thematic analysis and then cross-analysis of four nested case studies.

Researcher’s reflexivity requires us to be able to locate ‘ourselves, and our own individual and collective histories, critically and reflectively in wider discourses and their associated power

relations' (May and Sleeter, 2010:10). My own normative assumptions have been developing outside of the UK, in a different social context, in a different language. Therefore I cannot help but see Scottish institutional practices, as well as meanings attributed to language used in British 'race' equality policy landscape, as requiring closer investigation. In fact, identification of the dominant discourses and deconstruction of meaning are both the objectives and the mediums of my analysis. I am therefore using a critical theoretical lens for the analytical approach, as exemplified in the discussion of Critical Race Theory, Critical Pedagogy, Interculturality and Critical Multiculturalism in Chapter 2.

Those critical viewpoints question the underlying values, the authorship of 'official knowledge' (Apple, 1993), leading to exposing and disrupting systems of power and oppression (Freire, 1970). A critical paradigm in research is 'concerned with seeking out the origins of social problems and finding ways to analyse them productively' (Bloor and Bloor, 2007:12). It sits well with my personal, bilingual and bi-cultural experiences as a teacher, teacher-educator and researcher, being positioned as a minority group member in this country. Looking across the macro, meso and micro- levels of the contexts of teachers' lives and work, I will be focusing on the way knowledge is produced within the identified discourses, in order to see if they maintain or challenge the existing social structures and power relations (Bloor and Bloor, 2007).

Critical orientation to research not only identifies and documents people's lives, but also evaluates them (Hammersley, 2013:30), so that the study is 'directed towards achieving particular kinds of political goals.' This study aims to locate, name, expose and evaluate underlying political goals of sustaining a 'race' equality narrative in Scotland, despite a widely-held belief in Scottish egalitarianism. Hammersley claims that such endeavours are only 'properly understood within a framework of a global theory that locates them in a wider social system and/or a larger process of historical development that has been properly theorized' (2013:30).

Post-structural thinkers, such as Derrida, claimed that language or discourse cannot be under our control, because its structures, and therefore also meanings, are changing and always

escape us, they are shifting, contrasting, not given once and for all. Discourse in fact changes us, has us under its control ‘and in a sense even speaks through us’ (Hammersley, 2013:42). Consequently, there is not one correct perspective for understanding or analysing social phenomena anyway, because every analysis will only cover one perspective, ours. However, there are methodological ways of ensuring a robust analysis, for example by ‘recognizing the regularities in language in terms of patterns and repertoires. These repertoires (constructs) do not emanate from the individual as such, but are embedded in culturally and socially constructed situations’ (Gray, 2004:342).

The general concept for an analytical framework can be described as going vertically through the macro, meso and micro levels, using thematic analysis first within the nested cases. This involves initially creating categories for primary descriptive analysis, then moving on to creating themes in higher order analysis by applying ideas implicit in the Research Questions to the primary analysis. Only later do I move on to a horizontal cross-case analysis, applying those themes across cases and groups of social actors, finally formulating different networks of influence on teachers: pertaining to their individual characteristics, as well as the structural and policy boundaries.

This process resembles what Ritchie et al (2014) and Braun and Clarke (2006) identify as thematic analysis, with its distinct stages of data management, data summary and display and finally abstraction and interpretation (Ritchie et al., 2014:279). Thematic analysis allows to describe and interpret patterns (themes) emerging from the data, through a process of systematic analysis of large data sets, such as comprising of interviews, observations and documentary analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

I will demonstrate the process of thematic analysis, the development and refinement of categories and the verification of conclusions in two steps. First, I describe the physical process of data management, summary and interpretation. I will follow this with demonstrating how categories developed, through repeated reading of transcripts and field notes. This process induced the development of codes and categories in data display, which served as a draft, preliminary scaffolding in formulating findings (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Through deep

engagement with the codes identified in the data, categories began to collapse and patterns to emerge. An example of such analytical process is presented in Figure 5.6 below, describing the elements of one of this study's identified themes (see pp. 120-121).

Figure 5.6. The analytical process: from codes to themes

Codes	Categories	Sub-themes	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strong Head teacher - role of assemblies - complex, difficult to translate legislation - school policy development, use of LA templates - EAL teachers' role - everyday racism - focus on attainment - social attitudes to difference and discrimination as real problems - school values - CfE: flexible? - busy curriculum - Golden Time - Circle Time - Health and Wellbeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - relationships between staff, including specialist staff, and teachers - relationships between staff and children - positive, whole school approaches - leadership (HT) - committed management and organisational push - school level policy direction for teachers - individualistic struggles - restrictions of the curriculum - opportunities in the curriculum - aspirations vs. practice - reactive or proactive actions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barriers - Directions - Limits - Opportunities - Enablers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structural Boundaries

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Global Citizenship - unplanned lessons, 10 minutes 'here and there' - resourceful teachers - strict lesson plans - expectations on teachers - prevalence of social class inequality - economic downturn - nationality, religion and identity - recording/dealing with incidents - presence of pupils with EAL - age and needs of children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - role of the local and the Scottish Government - mainstreaming 'equalities' implicit and invisible - feelings of frustration 		
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The physical process of managing the interview data was complex, manual, and time-consuming. While transcribing, I had already begun the analytical process. As I was typing, I started making notes and descriptive comments on the transcript margins in word processor files, clearly distinguishing them from the interview data. With each new transcription, codes were added, and comments included, especially when comparisons and/or contrasts with other interviewees were becoming apparent. At the end of the transcription process, I had a file with initial codes identified.

After transcribing each of the 22 interviews, physical copies were printed, including large empty margins for annotations. I used different coloured pens, generating more codes through

repeated reading of the transcripts, and thus creating initial categories. As I familiarised myself with the data, reading and re-reading the transcripts, I added new categories, new reflections, refined them by making more links between other interviews. This is how initial categories were refined within the data.

Cross-checking of initial and refined categories took place on example transcripts, undertaken with my doctoral supervisors. Having shared one interview transcript and my development of categories and themes, we discussed the relevance of my interpretations, checking against alternative interpretations. This process enabled me to look at the data anew, see it with fresh eyes, and evaluate the contrasts, irregularities and paradoxes of assigned meanings and interpretations (Stake, 2006). As new patterns were forming, sub-themes began to surface. This example cross-checking exercise allowed me to learn and apply this experience to the remaining analyses.

As I began to see a story emerging from the data, I verified the emergent sub-themes by creating mind maps of categories with their supporting codes and quotation excerpts. I used large sheets of paper as I find it easiest to creatively mark and denote in colours converging meanings and relationships. Number of thematic maps were created. Next steps in this data display involved understanding the components of each theme and in comparison with my study's research questions, finding them appropriate names.

Additionally, the use of terminology visible in the interview data was another layer I kept returning to. Actually, I could not escape it, it was a very strong pull. This is based on the Foucauldian understanding of the discourse's exercise of power on people. Hammersley (2013:60) explains that 'discursive strategies can lead us to believe things without question: to 'see' the world as having some essential character, ruling out other possibilities as effectively unthinkable.' This relates clearly to both interview data and documentary analysis – both policies and people use words as power. How teachers enacted dominant discourses in their talk, was even more interesting than looking at the parallels between policy ideals and the possibilities of practice. I have therefore added a whole layer of linguistic analysis, determining key words from each interview and contrasting them with prevailing policy

terminology. To add another level of complexity, a reflexive researcher would look into their own use of terms and how it has changed through the course of this study. Through re-reading of the annotated transcripts and mind maps I could clearly see how my own analytical thinking has progressed in time.

Lastly, I organised the data display by the type of interviewee (class teacher, Head teacher, EAL Teacher, Key Informant) and moved onto new, larger sheets of paper to keep working on with the use of mind maps and clusters. Later the categories started permeating many themes and vice versa. For a long time, I looked for and evaluated the identified patterns between cases, layering categories into multiple sub-themes. For example, the roles of individuals (such as Head teachers and EAL teachers) was equally important within the sub-theme of individual influences on practice as it was within the sub-theme of organisational and structural directions.

In the end, three themes emerged from the data as relevant to each school case study: 1) teachers' characteristics and dispositions, 2) structural boundaries, and 3) factors in policy to practice translation. The final verification of conclusions was achieved by placing class teachers at the centre of the analytical process, and from this perspective reviewing mind maps, key terms of reference and relationships between various layers of interpretation. It was paramount that the analysis was not linear, but started and focused on the centrality of individual actors, placed in their social contexts and playing their parts as opposed to larger, structural, and institutional powers.

Each Findings chapter tells a story of the development of those themes, with use of rich description, vignettes from observations, and other contextual data, before delineating the findings organised into the three abovementioned main themes.

School level policy analysis was conducted in faith that 'the analysis must not go beyond the data, perhaps even that it should be restricted to what is 'observable' *in* the data' (Schegloff, 1997; cited in Hammersley, 2013:25). I concentrated on what is visible in the documents made available to me at each school. I looked for key terms relating to 'race', racism, equality,

discrimination, multiculturalism etc, and how they were presented and understood in the texts: whether they have been explained or appeared as principles without commentary. I was interested in the documents' authorship and audience, as well as the forms of language used. The policies' 'usefulness' was commented on, on the basis of class teachers' interpretations expressed during interviews. Local authority policies were not analysed in such detail, as I concentrated on how the authorities translate national policy in their aim to mediate it for schools' use. Again, documents were chosen on the basis of their relevance, as was described already in Chapter 3. Overall, the documentary analysis followed many of the points suggested by Scott (2000) borrowing only a few aspects of discourse analysis, as it centred on uncovering teachers' perspectives on policy, and not my own.

5.8 Ethical issues

Ethical issues in social research are of major importance. This study is no different in wanting to ensure participants' rights were upheld and my research interests fit within them. Fontana and Frey (2000), distinguish between ethical considerations relating to potential harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy, and involvement of deception. I will consider those elements below.

All participants were willing to take part in the study. However, having discussed the role of gatekeepers in choosing the participants, I had to make sure that they truly consented. Otherwise, the potentially emotional topic under our investigation could have resulted in provoking unwanted responses. That would be unethical, according to Bondi (2005), who suggests that if the topics proves too emotional for the participant, the researcher has to rethink the risks.

Although appropriate permissions were obtained, informed consent is more than just seeking permission. As illustrated earlier, it proved difficult to find suitably diverse schools on my own accord, and the 'good practice' schools presented a different set of traits from a hypothetically ordinary school. Obtaining informed consent there seemed perhaps easier than in such school, yet the depth of interview questions and my expectations of staff there also changed. I assured

informed consent by honestly disclosing the aims and motives of my study, making it less scary to talk about policy and to be observed in class. I was also open about what I hoped to achieve by this study, and that giving back to the schools and teachers was paramount for me.

Anonymity was ensured through the use of pseudonyms and removing any potentially identifiable data from the findings. Scotland is a small country and professionals actively involved in the area of multicultural and antiracist education tend to know each other. All participants' names have been changed, their roles generalised, so that a broad picture is achieved instead of risking identification. Confidentiality was also protected by careful management of the research data, for example while describing the sample of schools and local authorities.

5.9 Trustworthiness and authenticity

The debate in social science on issues of validity and reliability is an old and important one. It has sometimes been replaced by considerations of trustworthiness and authenticity, although the latter one has also been criticised (Bryman, 2004; Connolly, 2008), alongside the idea of triangulation, as they both hint at the possibility of obtaining a 'true' picture.

However, triangulation supported the trustworthiness of this study. A mixed-method approach has helped look at the phenomena and processes in question from a variety of perspectives. Multi-level analysis has also produced coherent descriptions and interpretations, allowing me to claim that with caution, the results could be applied to comparable settings (Thomas, 2010), but not necessarily wider populations. Therefore aspects of credibility and transparency were addressed in this research. The use of nested case study design and inclusion of policy analysis helped with both internal and external validity of the findings.

This study had its limitations. It is still a small-scale project, without many international comparative elements. The possibilities of a single researcher are limited and the viewpoints presented require constant critique. Additionally, excluding children from my study can be seen as a weakness. In an ideal world, I would have extended it to include pupils' perspectives

and feedback for teacher practice, to allow some interplay between what policy, teachers and children consider important in this field.

5.10 Reflexivity

I have been trying to write in a continuously reflexive manner throughout this chapter, which I hope is noticeable. However, there are some distinct issues that I have not yet covered. I will begin by defining reflexivity as ‘a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness’ (Callaway, 1992:33; cited in Pillow, 2003:178). It can also be understood as authenticity, expressed for example in outlining the journey I made in defining and understanding key terms in this area of research. I return to this issue of terminology and definitions throughout this thesis.

Reflexivity demands accounting for the researcher’s personal characteristics (such as gender, age, ethnicity), positionality and interests, which all exert influence on the research process (Pillow, 2003). Reflexivity also means reporting on the process of change (Reinharz, 1997). The fact that I am a white, middle class woman, also serves to confirm a stereotype of who educational researchers are. However, my own relationship with my ethnicity is fluid, as the longer I live in Scotland, the more Scottish I feel (even though I identify by my Polish nationality and language most strongly). In this sense, my own positionality and sense of self have changed over time. I started this research as a young Polish international student in Scotland, challenged by the social status of being a migrant and not having my primary teacher qualification recognised immediately in access to jobs and status. When I started this research, I was less confident about my subject knowledge and use of English than I am today.

Over time, I have positioned myself as an academic and teacher educator; a teacher of children and young people across age groups. I have confirmed to myself my abilities and passion to work with young children, teenagers, pre-service and in-service teachers. Such positionality bears elements of being situationally created (Reinharz, 1997). I am equally a typical and atypical researcher. I feel I am in a privileged position in the field due to having a perspective from another European country (one that did not colonise the world but is still inclined to racist

thinking) and being bilingual and used to thinking by switching codes and perspectives. However, my name and my accent eventually reveal that I am 'foreign', that I am not local in the eyes of others. Although maybe this is also a matter of perspective? Nevertheless, the impact of who I am on my research is not clearly identifiable, at least not to myself.

I am also mindful of the positionality of my research participants. How has it affected my analysis? Were there differences in the implicit trust I put in the different groups of interview participants? Could I have been more thorough in considering the reasons why people wanted to speak to me? Also, has my positionality allowed the interviewees to say more than they usually would, speak their mind to a stranger, or not? How was I seen by them - as a rare Polish teacher and academic in the sea of Polish pupils and parents, or somebody else? 'The researcher does not know in advance what attributes will be meaningful in the field' (Reinharz, 1997: 18). But there is a clear need to reflect on and to describe the process one went through, to better understand the contexts in which the interactions between people helped create the research data, and consequently also the data analysis.

Bondi (2005:238) advocates the potential use of researchers' emotions as interpretive resources'. She suggests approaching this from a few angles. Firstly, she claims that 'in popular imagination (...) researchers are assumed to be, and remain, detached from their evidence', but at the same time we are required to be deeply creative and 'associated with moments of great insight and excitement' (2005:233). This is an obvious tension, almost as obvious as the fact that the emotional impact of research on researchers themselves is not a topic widely discussed in published discussion, as opposed to between researchers, in person.

I agree with Bondi and accept that 'emotions are integral to research relationships' (2005:231) because 'thinking is never emotion-free' (2005:234). The feelings present at the interviews, in the classrooms or in the words of the respondents have all affected my feelings about the person/topic/answers. Also, my own feelings or observations during the interviews affected how I understood what was actually communicated. For example, did the fact that I worked in St. Clara's Primary mean the interactions between the teachers and myself differed from other schools? I do not think so; I believe I managed to understand this context better. But there

were surely many instances where emotional responses to an observation or a phrase impacted on my thinking.

To sum up my reflexive thoughts, I would like to put forward Pillow's critical view on what she calls 'comfortable reflexivity' and advocate 'reflexivities of discomfort' (Pillow, 2003). Drawing from the works of Visweswaran (1994) and Chaudhry (2000), she suggests 'interrupting reflexivity' by learning to represent ourselves, not our research subjects, and continuously expose power relations in the processes of our interpretation. By asking questions, not just trying to give truthful answers, the researcher might help the reader to start questioning preconceptions and beliefs of not just the author, but also of their own.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the research design of my study. Methods of data collection and the process of analysis were described and reflected upon. The choice of relevant data sources was presented alongside the catalogue of research activities undertaken. This was followed by a presentation of the structure of the analysis and a system of presenting data and findings. Lastly, ethical and reflexive concerns were discussed. In the following four chapters, I display and analyse the data from the two nested case studies (Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9), succeeded by a discussion of Findings across cases in Chapter 10.

Chapter 6

Presentation of Findings: Case study 1. Hillview Primary School, Sand City

6.1 Introduction

The following four chapters include the description and analysis of data collected in 4 primary schools. Each chapter presents findings from one school, embedded in its national and local contexts. All the case studies are brought together for cross-case analysis and discussion in Chapter 10. Therefore, the four findings chapters will be overall predominantly descriptive, with only some authorial, analytical commentaries to teachers' viewpoint offered at this point. A more critical discussion will be captured in Chapter 10.

This chapter explores the complex ways in which teachers in Hillview, an urban, non-denominational primary school in a predominantly middle class part of Sand City, negotiate 'race' equality. Having introduced the Local Educational Authority contexts in Chapter 5 (section 5.5), here I turn to describing the school's context, followed by the individual research participants. The chapter then explores the main themes identified in this research, by applying ideas implicit in the Research Questions to the primary analysis of interview, observation and documentary data. The many individual, organisational and structural/policy factors influencing teachers' conceptualisations and practices of multicultural and antiracist education are explored.

Placing class teachers at the centre, three main themes were identified as prominent and useful in categorising the presentations of findings for each school:

1. All teachers brought with them a set of characteristics and dispositions, which they had the potential to build on or develop throughout their practice. **Teachers' characteristics and dispositions** included elements such as their:
 - Prior knowledge

- Attitudes to diversity
 - Conceptualisations of multicultural and antiracist education
 - Commitment to social justice, equality and inclusion and to teaching ‘race’ equality
 - Agency and an activist mindset
2. **Structural boundaries** within the school governed teacher practice. These could act as directions, barriers, limits and opportunities, and involved:
- Organisational, whole school approaches and policies
 - Influence of leadership, EAL support (if any) and school ethos on class teachers
 - Practice itself: opportunities and barriers for ‘race’ equality work within and outwith the curriculum
3. **Translation of policy into practice** depended on factors such as:
- Mediation of policy from local authority to school level
 - Teacher engagement with relevant local authority and school policies
 - Teacher professionalism

All the above themes and their elements are looked at in the case studies, resulting in creation of a picture of individual teachers’ perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education. Commonalities and differences between teachers, schools and local authorities will be explored in Chapter 10. It is also where I will consider the interplay between those 3 levels of analysis with additional help from Key Informant interview data as well as a more detailed policy analysis.

6.2 Setting the context

Hillview Primary is a non-denominational school with a roll of around 460 pupils, and 80 Nursery places. Percentage of pupils registered for free meals in 2011/12 was below national

average. The school is located in an affluent, socially advantaged area of Sand City, where most homes are owned. However, about 30% of the pupils come from outwith the school catchment, from disadvantaged areas. At the time of research, there were 56 minority ethnic children in the school, or 12% of the school population. Their ethnicity was categorised³ as following:

- 13 ‘White Others’ (mostly Eastern European, predominantly Polish)
- 9 Mixed
- 9 Chinese
- 8 Pakistani
- 6 Bangladeshi
- 5 Indian
- 4 Others
- 2 Black African

Earnest, the Head teacher, regularly analyses children’s attainment by ethnic group. At the same time the school is concerned with inequalities caused by social class differences. The school has a very distinct ethos, thanks to its Head teacher’s sustained focus on equality, diversity and social justice. As he presents it:

In all we do we work hard to establish what I would call common values of all the major religions and cultures around the world, values that are accepted by all people.
(Earnest, Head teacher, Hillview)

The idea of universal values, rooted in shared humanity, was born out of his experiences of teaching in the multicultural schools of London. Earnest reports that, keen to raise achievement in his school, he decided to investigate why most top achieving London schools were faith schools, and states that he came to believe ‘that they probably were requiring them [children] to buy into a value system’ and has subsequently developed his own program of promoting

³ Data provided by the Head teacher, collected by the school in line with categorisation used in Scotland’s Census 2011

universal values. Earnest did not acknowledge that English faith schools are highly socially selective, which is not necessarily the case in Scotland. However, the program of universal values was pioneered by him in schools in the past and brought to Scotland. Earnest is very keen to build the whole school practice around this and firmly steers the school and its teachers to embrace it.

As a result, it has been embraced by all Hillview teachers and mainstreamed throughout the school. This suggests the shared belief that education aims to achieve more than teaching children ‘the three Rs’, and is successful if it teaches universal moral values, such as Responsibility; Integrity; Fairness and Justice; Consideration for others; Respect and Value for all; and Tolerance and Acceptance. This is due to education’s potential to have an impact on what the Head teacher calls ‘children’s emotional intelligence’, and subsequently on their inter-faith and inter-ethnic relations. Therefore the faith and social class lenses act as catalysts for undertaking social justice pursuits in Hillview, despite its teachers being mostly non-religious and wholly middle-class.

The school’s and its Head’s commitment to equality based on moral values is clear:

Our value system is intended to provide a moral compass in children’s lives, if you like. They are not getting it anywhere else. They’re not getting it from home – it’s all me, me, me, and the kind of greed and the attitude of always getting more and always material things. So it’s also about trying to help children to understand that they need to treat people with dignity and respect, whoever they are, whatever they are, wherever they come from. Whether it’s their social background, or their cultural and religious background.’ (Earnest, Head teacher, Hillview)

The role of the school and teachers, as he sees it, is to model ‘moral courage’ to act and to ‘teach children the skills of being able to challenge injustice and inequality, and fight for it’. However, the Head teacher realises that it is a struggle. Therefore the goal of the school is to improve children’s confidence, which he believes should translate itself into that moral courage. The school has also recognised the need for improvements in terms of dealing with racism and addressing sectarianism, which they claim to be working on.

Hillview receives support from the local authority's English as an Additional Language (EAL) Service in the person of one EAL Teacher coming in for a half-day once a week. There are relatively small numbers of children with EAL in the school, with most assessed as being advanced learners of English (Stage 3 and 4⁴). In fact, it is a rare occurrence for the school to have a child New to English (Stage 1) enrolled.

The EAL teacher's work is therefore a mixture of in-class support for specific bilingual children, cooperative learning with groups of children, collaborative teaching and class teacher support. The school has taken up whole school CPD session on aspects of supporting Stage 3 and Stage 4 learners' literacy development. The EAL teacher is also encouraged to have some time dedicated to development time for the school, although this is proving challenging. Each term, the number of children with EAL needing support and their Stage of English language development will dictate the real terms of the EAL teacher's support.

6.3 Introducing research participants

Two Primary 7 class teachers, a Principal teacher, the Head teacher and the school's EAL teacher were interviewed in Hillview Primary. I present their self-described profiles below.

Adrianna is a 31 year old, female teacher of a Primary 7 class. She is from Scotland and describes her ethnicity as Scottish. She does not have a disability. She has been at Hillview for 9 years. She has not taught in any other school. She qualified as a primary teacher in another part of Scotland. She has some experience of teaching abroad, completing a placement in Denmark during her teacher education, which she believes has heavily influenced her.

⁴ EAL Stages of language development are based on a local authority's system of assessment, not endorsed by NALDIC. They are however widely used by EAL teachers and divided as following:

Stage 1 – New to English

Stage 2 – Early Acquisition

Stage 3 – Developing Competence

Stage 4 – Competent

Stage 5 – Fluent

Andy is a 27 year old, male teacher of a Primary 7 class. He is from Scotland and describes his ethnicity as White. He does not have a disability. He has been at Hillview for 2 years. Last year he completed his probationary year at the school and he is now in his first year as a qualified teacher. His first degree was in Sport Science from another part of Scotland, after which he completed a postgraduate degree in education in Sand City. His interest in sport science and teaching sports is equally important to him as primary teaching and he tries to reconcile the two. He has taught sports outside of Scotland, in Canada.

Earnest is a male Head Teacher in his early 60s. He is from England and defines his ethnicity as White British. He does not have a disability. He has been teaching for 39 years and has been at Hillview for 4 years. Prior to that, he worked in another part of Scotland for 5 years. Before that he had a 30 year-long career in London. He qualified as a teacher in London. He is committed to social justice and equality and believes he has brought to Scotland many practices developed in London's multicultural schools during his career. Earnest is trying to implement them so they become sustainable and systematic, but he sees differences between pupil and teacher reactions to these methods in Scotland and is disappointed at the pace of change in Hillview. He is concerned about what happens after his retirement.

Hugo is a 49 year old, male Principal Teacher in Hillview Primary. He is from Scotland and describes his ethnicity as White Scottish. He does not have a disability. He has been teaching for 18 years. He qualified as a teacher in another part of Scotland. His first degree was in Ecology and he remains committed to teaching children environmental issues from an ethical and sustainability standpoint. He has taught mostly in Sand City, but also in other large Scottish cities. He has experience of teaching for 1.5 years in international schools across Asia, mostly in Malaysia. He believes this period has heavily influenced him.

Doris is a 49 year old, female English as an Additional Language teacher in Sand City. She is from England and describes her ethnicity as British. She does not have a disability. By coincidence she worked as an EAL teacher in both Hillview and St. Clara's. She has been an EAL Teacher for nearly 4 years at the time of research in Hillview Primary. She qualified as a primary teacher in Sand City, and worked in a number of schools in neighbouring Local

Authorities, in roles of class teacher, supply teacher, EAL teacher and in an Early Years intervention. Before becoming a teacher, she re-trained and changed her career 3 times. Initially she worked in England in organisational management for 7 years and then in marketing at a Further Education institution for 4 years. She then moved to Scotland and worked for a charity in a business development role for 10 years. The charity supported young people at risk of being excluded and this started her interest in social justice. She volunteered for 3 years after being trained to teach ESOL classes to adult learners. This led to her current EAL role. She has recently taken up studying Polish.

6.4 Description of relevant school policies

To remind the reader, only those written policies which the school indicated were being used, are included in this section. Links to the authority level policy guidance are only made when appropriate and necessary.

A very strong, central theme of striving for greater equality between children and teachers in everyday school life is noticeable in Hillview Primary's policies (and practices, too, which will be presented later). The Head teacher aims for the drive to make a difference to come from children themselves, and not only be teacher-led. He wants to give children power and responsibility to change things for the better in their daily life, and to be able to make decisions about their learning. Open and honest relationships mean power and voice shared between children and teachers. An example of this is a new policy of children giving yearly feedback to the Head teacher and class teachers on their teaching, to encourage classroom practices being based on a two-way conversation.

The Head teacher is pushing for all the changes he introduced to become systematic, embraced by the whole school, and agrees not all teachers are equally on board. The two class teachers chosen by him for my research, Adrianna and Andy, are those he thinks are doing best in giving pupil voice and establishing these two-way relationships with their pupils.

Policies and practice, or the route to meaningful and sustainable improvement

All school policies can be described as deliberately aspirational, as the Head teacher explains that it is good to paint a bold vision of where you want to be. Admitting that policies are aspirational also requires an understanding that school teachers are also learners, and that making mistakes is an element of an inevitably bumpy learning journey, not a failure.

There is a number of policy documents⁵ identified at school as explicitly about equality.

- The Sand City's EAL Equalities Officer worked in partnership with the schools' Primary 7 teachers and children to create a school-wide Race Equality Policy: first a few years back, where there was an 'identified need' for that, and the school was just in the process of getting a new Head Teacher. It was created by P7 children, supported by their teachers, and consisted of a presentation to the whole school at the end of a period of intense policy production in those two classes. It was deemed so successful that it resulted in an Equality Award from a business for the school. It is the main policy that the school uses, with each new Primary 7 class revisiting and presenting it to the rest of the school.
- In the months after my data collection, there was an update to that policy, as a response to the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, this time expanding to include all the Protected Characteristics from Equality Act 2010. This was described in detail in Chapter 5, section 5.6.5.
- The school also has a standalone, poster sized summary of the Race Equality Policy, 'by children for children' which is a summary of the work done as a group which can be displayed in each classroom. It has separate sections on children's, teachers' and parental rights and responsibilities, as well as the school's key value statements.
- There are two more standalone policies for staff: Equalities Policy and Anti-bullying policy. They were prepared by the Head teacher and sent to the City's Equalities

⁵ Titles and names of the policy documents and key Equalities staff at the Council level have been changed to protect the schools' anonymity in all Findings chapters.

Officer for comments before being shared with class teachers, who did not participate in its production. The documents are both detailed, informative, relevant and potentially useful, but not too long. They use the language of 'race' equality from the Equality Act 2010.

- There is also children's poster version of the school's Anti-Bullying Policy, similarly displayed in each class.

In addition to the above, the school regularly gets involved in various projects specifically about other cultures or countries, such as comparison of lives, lifestyle and education in Scotland with that of another country; Fair Trade projects and a lot of charity work, collecting for charities regularly and responding to urgent needs (e.g. Haiti earthquake of 2010). Some of those are led by the Head teacher, some by class teachers.

6.5 Presentation of findings

6.5.1 Teachers' characteristics and dispositions

Prior knowledge and teachers' personal attitudes to diversity

Adrianna had no specific input on racism or multiculturalism during her Initial Teacher Education. She has undertaken specific EAL training on her own initiative twice: first time after having the experience of a teaching placement abroad, second time whilst preparing to welcome a bilingual child in her class.

Both teachers show some degrees of openness and valuing diversity (which will be shown using excerpts from interviews in this section), but this is not well grounded in theoretically underpinned personal convictions. Adrianna is more skilled in mediating her conviction into practice, but both could potentially be on the route to development into professionals using their agency to challenge oppression as they demonstrate making personal choices which take them in that direction. For example, they are both committed to setting up a link with a school

in Malawi, in order to ‘see how they learn, go to school and live their lives, what kind of morals they believe in’, as Andy puts it. This is hardly a critical standpoint, it does not even presuppose equality in explicit terms, but it is not based on a charity view of Africa; it presupposes learning from the other. Andy also explicitly states that in his view children should learn about the link between race and racism and understand antiracism from a young age.

Another example, one that both teachers commented on, is described below. The school encourages non-Christian children to ‘sit and observe’ Christian assemblies and also to take part in mainstream RE classes as they sometimes include more than one religious perspective. Earnest stresses ‘the importance that [children of other religions] are there to see what others do and understand’. However such an approach is still centred on Christianity traditionally underpinning Scottish education and in a school where other religions are also present, it does not always work. For example, Adrianna found out in the first few weeks of the school year that a Muslim boy in her class is not taking part in any religious education, on request of his parents. She is not happy that this was something that ‘had slipped’ both in the handover from a previous teacher and that in general only one faith is represented in some school assemblies. She thinks that staff would like to see more representation of religious diversity and asked the Head ‘to get other religious leaders to come in and take some assemblies, but it seems to be a lot harder to get leaders from other faiths to come in than the local Minister.’ Therefore for the time being the situation remains as it was. This is problematic for two reasons. One is that the school de facto prioritises Christianity, despite claiming to be underpinned by the universal moral values of all religions. The second issue is that secular perspectives are not even acknowledged as deserving equal recognition in primary education.

Adrianna has started her personal journey from growing up in a monocultural community to ‘opening her eyes’ to difference. She credits this to travelling, including teaching abroad, and to the changing demography in Scotland resulting in the change of popular attitudes to multiculturalism. Adrianna recognises the conservativeness and fear of change in some British people, but feels that because of growing numbers of minority ethnic people in the society, those negative attitudes, even if strong, are on their way out. She sums it up by saying:

The more you see, the more your attitude changes. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

Andy is similarly committed to advancing equality of opportunity by being aware of the world, what it means to be a global citizen and having consistently high expectations of all his pupils, be it children with English as an Additional language or typically stereotyped minority ethnic children. He is only finding his feet when it comes to antiracism in practice, but isn't afraid to voice his convictions. Andy describes his students as 'insular' and is ashamed at their very poor grasp of basic knowledge of the wider world, such as geography.

I know myself I tend to talk about a lot of what I believe in. I believe in race equality and things like that, it's an issue I feel relatively strongly about. I've seen instances of [discrimination against] friends who are gay, a black guy training athletics and being subject to bad treatment in this country, from Mozambique. So it's issues I thought about. I like sport, I talk about things like [national] football with the boys. I think it's important. We usually do it at the end of the day. We spoke about racism last week, because of the incidents in football and terminology and respect and respecting each other... (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

Defining diversity

Both Hillview teachers think that their classrooms are not very diverse, although each one of them has around 5 visibly minority ethnic children. This is perhaps influenced by comparisons with other, more multicultural schools in Sand City, yet it reveals that there may be a discrepancy between them talking about difference and noticing it in their own environment. Adrianna claims to notice that diversity is slowly increasing in the school.

Both teachers understand diversity in terms of religion first, quickly pointing out children 'with different than Christian backgrounds'. Adrianna also mentions the school's diversity in terms of ethnicity, language, and social status of families, unlike Andy. Bilingualism enjoys some attention in Adrianna's class and criss-crosses issues of nationality, ethnicity, culture and religion. For both class teachers, the understanding of various aspects of identity and difference is not clear, and boundaries between those markers can be blurred, as seen in the following quotes:

In the class that I've got at the moment, I've got one Polish girl and two Muslims and the rest are Scottish. Not very diverse. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

I suppose diversity for me it means obviously cultural diversity in terms of everyone is different religion. (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

Learning English as an Additional Language is reportedly not seen as a 'problem', but that is because most of the bilingual children's English ability is high, very high or fluent. This actually suggests a deeply embedded deficit view of pupils with EAL. Andy mentioned that the previous year he encouraged a natively bilingual, Muslim boy, to teach his classmates his other language, which was apparently a 'great success' and a reason for pride in the school community and in his family. Andy's words present an uncritically optimistic outlook on the readiness of primary aged pupils to learn a whole language from one of their peers, and in a space of less than a year. Andy is keen to show the difference this has brought to the child's self-esteem, which is entirely uncritical but fits in well with his continued focus on the importance of acknowledging 'everyone's differences' and recognising the variety in distinct achievements of all children. This seems to be one of Andy's core dispositions, as he demonstrates a broadly inclusive definition to success. Yet religious difference remains for Andy the most prominent marker of difference, mentioned time and again when discussing 'race' and ethnicity.

Conceptualisation of key terms

Andy has never heard of **intercultural education**, whereas Adrianna guesses it is learning about foreign countries or cultures and Global Citizenship.

Adrianna understands **multicultural education** as working within and for the local community; incorporating religion and culture, as the common aspects of life that most people share, despite differences. It is about preparing children for life underpinned by the value of respect for others, 'how to live with them... to learn from each other and get on.'

To Andy, the term **multicultural education** seems familiar but he is entirely unsure of its meaning. He mentions Show Racism the Red Card, a sporting initiative he is familiar with and thinks would be relevant and ‘hard-hitting’ for the boys in his class; incidentally something that the class has planned to attend ‘one day soon’. When pressed, he considers it could be a ‘celebration of the variety of cultures and world religions’. He tries to explain himself by saying: ‘That’s as far as I would go, or as far as I know that I’ve done so far. Again I’ve not had a great deal of experience in teaching’.

Antiracist education as a concept has not been defined by either teachers, they jumped straight into providing practical examples of where anti-racism fits in classes. However, they rarely referred to those practices as antiracist. This suggests that the teachers are used to discussing difference, discrimination and sometimes racism with children, but do not conceptualise anti-racism as a personal stance or a critical choice underpinned by theoretical understanding. Instead, their anti-racist practices are rooted in the school’s ethos, promoted by the Head teacher, and in the school’s children-led policies on equality, anti-bullying and discrimination. These are capitalised on by the class teachers and form the basis of classroom ethos and practice, being displayed prominently and referred to regularly.

However, it seems that the Head teacher’s commitment to the children learning to be proactive and empowered to make a difference is reflected well in terms of teacher understanding of equality and anti-discrimination, but not in a critical, activist, anti-racist way. Adrianna believes that equality and difference are two sides of the same coin; one cannot be without the other. She thinks that children are building their awareness of diversity at school by being taught to see minority ethnic children as ‘no different to anybody else’ and comments that ‘they are very good at understanding that everybody is equal’.

Adrianna explicitly attributes equality-based practices to the ethos of the school as the basic ingredient allowing this. She thinks the underlying values of the school, based on rights, responsibilities, respect and equality, permeate the school practice, result in whole school approaches and feature in relations across all levels within the school, between staff too. She seems to be fully on board with it.

But Andy's level of ownership of the idea is not as strong (which Earnest says he is aware of, but trusts in Andy's potential for development). As Andy describes the equal opportunity and rights-based principles: 'that's the school, that's the school belief. We highlight that even more so this year than the last year. I don't know if that's pushed from a Council level down...?'. This suggests he is unsure where this policy focus originates. Even though he agrees with its principles, his commitment seems halfway between external, something that he should do, and internal, something he believes in. This is also reflected in his use of language as he sometimes reverts to talking about a 'general need to celebrate diversity, because there can be a lot of... issues and things arising, at this stage of [children's] young lives' when he is actually trying to stress the need to address racist discrimination and bullying. Andy finds himself at a loss when it comes to which terms to use, he is also not yet confident in understanding what multicultural and antiracist education mean, nor confident about how much autonomy he has in deciding where could he embody those ideas in practice. Adrianna is more experienced and seems to have had more practice, which leads to her being better able to express her thoughts. It is worth pointing out that hesitation and knowledge-production characterised this fragment of the two interviews, as many answers to my questions about understanding of central concepts and terminology was met with marked uncertainty, and seemed to be constructed at the time of the interviews.

6.5.2 Structural boundaries (directions, barriers, limits, opportunities)

Opportunities for Critical Multiculturalism in practice

Where does 'race' equality fit in practice? Both teachers feel a definite encouragement from the management to pursue equality and social justice issues, which is reiterated a lot in the assemblies in terms of the core values of the school, 'but then from the class teacher's point of view, [multicultural and anti-racist education] fits in wherever it can within the year'. Both teachers find this positive as it allows them to seize naturally occurring opportunities, for example from events widely spoken about in the society or community. The below quotes illustrate that:

I think that a lot of things on race and multiculturalism are the sort of 5 minute conversations here and 5 minute conversations there, whether it be first thing in the morning are talking about something they have seen happening in the news, or whether it be clearing up an incident that's happened at their break, chatting about it, whether it be during the circle time... (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

Andy: We spoke about racism last week, because of the incidents in football and terminology and respect and respecting each other.

Me: Can you tell me a little more?

Andy: I picked an article at the weekend that I thought was important in my class. They are going through an age when they are picking up terminology from TV, adults and football... A few of them I met at the football match on Saturday, and the use of terminology there, you would not use outside of football, and there was a granddad with a young child who put hands over his ears. And that bothered me a bit. All of a sudden, some of my kids from this class were at that football. And I thought, if they are hearing this language, how are they going to use that language? So the article described how 3 Black footballers were getting racially abused and 4 guys had approached them but it was the 8 year old child who shouted a racist term at them. So I don't know what was worst, that the adult did nothing or that the child knew that word. So I read the article to the pupils and basically took their feedback. But that wasn't a planned lesson. That was 20 minutes at the end of the day, discussing, and just put it up on the interactive whiteboard to see what they thought.

Me: And what did they think?

Andy: They thought it was disgraceful! (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

This is also a good illustration of another important issue brought up by the teachers, that young children are being unnecessarily sheltered from difficult topics. The teachers agreed this is doing them disservice and claim to try to challenge it in their practices.

Curriculum for Excellence

Teachers' view on opportunities afforded by the Curriculum for Excellence are complex and conflicting. On the whole, the more experienced Adrianna has a more positive outlook. She can see the opportunities in the fact that the curriculum is 'a little bit free-er' and has 'more scope to have cross overs between different subject areas'. She mentions that curricular

guidelines and intended outcomes specify what topics can be covered, interpreting this as an encouragement towards including more inclusive topics and taking a potential multicultural perspective. For example, her class engaged in ‘a debate-research series of lessons’ on various aspects of discrimination, from historical and citizenship viewpoints, as well as learning about stereotypes linked to nationality in interdisciplinary topics.

Andy also thinks that interdisciplinary topics ‘lend themselves’ to including multicultural perspectives, but he sees the curricular outcomes as a barrier more than an opportunity. For example, he included a Muslim parable in a lesson he planned together with Adrianna primarily because she suggested it, it fit with religious outcomes, and only partially due to belief that it represented a Muslim child and ‘celebrated another culture’. This brings a question if Andy would have used a Muslim story at all had he been planning the topic on his own.

Crucially, Andy is less confident about how much autonomy he has in prioritising his practices and being flexible about his lesson plans. He thinks that ‘there’s a strong, real push to get the curriculum through’ and feels very constrained by the expectations set upon him. The data suggests that the primary reason for this is his limited experience and self-confidence in making professional judgements underpinned by his and his school’s value systems. ‘Sticking to the plan’ seems ingrained into him and he fears reprimand for not following it. The fact that he demonstrates instances of ‘subversive’ action explains why the Head Teacher has so much faith in Andy, and his capacity to learn from Adrianna. It is a shame, however, that a newly-qualified teacher feels so constrained by the system, when working in a school which explicitly prioritises equality and social justice through multiple whole-school approaches and initiatives. Andy is fully aware of this, which is seen in the following, reflexive quote:

There’s a drive to teach the Health and Wellbeing. At assembly we have these Values of the Month: making the difference, resilience and so on. So they are trying things like that in assemblies; there are also things [displays] around the schools which are pupils’ eye levels to see; photos celebrating diversity... There is a lot of stuff in this school. To be fair I’m probably doing them injustice saying that I don’t have much faith in it. I’m just kind of giving you a snapshot of how I feel, from someone who has just started. I still feel quite structured as to what I have to do. But around the school, I mean, ethos promoting, they do promote diversity, from a whole school point of view. And they do celebrate success, and are trying to celebrate more success. I think

it's not bad, they are one of the best schools in terms of celebrating diversity as a whole school. (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

Therefore, both teachers pinpoint Health and Wellbeing as the place they can take equality issues on. But Adrianna is more practised in spotting where the opportunities may lie, for example she has been addressing ability and disability from a distinctly social model perspective. She says:

'I just think there's a lot more support. Even if we're looking at the plan, the fact that we'll be able to debate sectarianism, and racism, you never had the opportunity to do that before.' (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

However, both teachers stress that to make space for dedicated 'race' equality topics, they need more time within the curriculum.

Barriers and opportunities in practice

Both teachers are prepared to list significant barriers to including more sustained 'race' equality work every day.

Firstly, both are quick to point out that the curricular opportunities are exactly that – opportunities that are reliant on individuals to be realised in practice. Adrianna is not sure whether it is the school leadership or individual teachers who are the deciding factor. Andy observes that the reason for wide differentiation of practice may be that 'race' equality work 'is not held in as high regard as it probably should be'. Both teachers point out that certain aspects of British culture, such as traditionally conservative attitudes to difference, lacking trust in the 'other', and the unwillingness to draw attention to individuals, for example not being able to celebrate real individual success without it seeming like unduly bragging, are damaging the society. Earnest holds the same view, but believes that change is possible. He thinks that one of the roads to educating children into confident, successful young people who can break the social barriers of class and ethnicity is the Curriculum for Excellence, which aims for more equality between people, based on promoting 'entrepreneurialism and

creativity'. But they all agree that there is no official policy, no document and the curriculum alone cannot guarantee universal provision within and between schools.

I think it's got all good intentions, I think, written down in the documents. It looks as if it covers all bases. But because the CfE is quite wide and in some ways quite airy-fairy, I bet what we're doing in this school here is quite different to what's happening in a lot of different schools. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

Interestingly, the teachers don't see themselves or the rest of the school doing anything specific to actively promote good 'race relations' or a positive view of ethnic minorities. Andy doesn't consider himself doing any distinctly multicultural or antiracist work, despite presenting examples of it himself. Adrianna struggles to see how she could incorporate distinctly critically multicultural practices in her class. Apart from the school-wide focus on universal values, she feels left on her own as regards keeping or departing from the multicultural and anti-discriminatory lens in class. When probed further during the interview, she wondered if inviting 'speakers from the community' to visit the school or vice versa could work. Her considerations are still surface-level only, anti-discrimination work is unfortunately not recognised as a part of such practice, any potential focus is rather on the positive aspects of difference. She quickly reflects on her previous idea and points to the barriers which she thinks would prevent her from trying such approaches: not having many links with the local (diverse) community; having to plan and research diverse communities on her own; finally, she reconsiders it all and says it would not perhaps be appropriate at all:

It's something we see as a sensitive issue as well, that it's crude to go and ask such and such to come in and explain about themselves or their culture... I don't know, it's not something I really thought about before, to be honest. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

Such sense of distance from the diverse local communities of Sand City is also clearly seen in the teachers' perceptions of parental engagement in school. They are very positive about the white, middle class local parents but accept that their relationships with ethnic minority parents are not the same. To them, those parents seem to be not as open, not as interested in the whole child, but concentrating on their academic achievements. It is worth restating here that especially the parents of those 30% of out-of-catchment pupils were attracted to Hillview

specifically due to its reputation as a school with high aspirations for all children, and its distinct value system. The Head teacher is certain that many of those parents ‘want their children educated out of their community’. Whether it is escaping racism or class discrimination, the school ‘is a safe oasis for children to come to, to feel valued and respected, as equal members of the society. We can only change ourselves, we cannot change others.’

It is therefore suggested that class teachers’ commitment to social justice does not extend as strongly and equally to all parents and families, as they themselves do not have many chances to interact with the minority ethnic residents of the city or their community. This, in turn, is reflected in their levels of confidence when having to interact with minority ethnic parents in Hillview. For example, an issue of communication, including through interpreters, was picked up as significantly affecting the quality of teacher-parent interactions. The teachers find it awkward and harder to engage those parents and feel that they are not fully understood. The issue of these parents’ point of view was not picked up.

Additionally, the school’s EAL teacher’s knowledge of children and their families is not capitalised on. Even though EAL teachers are seen as very supportive, the class teacher attitudes to the EAL support suggest that they assume specialist support is needed in the first place, even though it looks like the teachers could take more ownership of it themselves as the needs are not very pronounced in the two Primary 7 classes. In the current arrangement of specialist EAL support, the general feeling in the school is that structural limitations put on them by the local authority mean that many opportunities are lost.

Firstly, class teachers are very concerned about how limited EAL Teacher’s time is. They see it negatively affecting how the EAL teacher can support bilingual children in class. Secondly, EAL teachers do not have enough time to plan with and feedback to the class teacher on specific children’s learning progress, which has usually been monitored by the EAL teacher over more than one year. It is the EAL teachers who tend to know much more about the child’s cultural background and family circumstances.

Because the EAL Teacher's time is seen as the biggest constraint, which all parties interviewed lamented, the school tries to keep Doris informed about day-to-day developments. Hugo makes sure Doris is included in all the relevant internal communication, whilst Earnest takes active interest in what support Doris provides and is continuously helping choose, gather and share new bilingual resources. Doris describes such commitment from the management as very rare. Overall, Doris thinks that Hillview is a school which mainstreams a lot of good EAL practice and where she is consulted about even small things. She feels included and happy that the benefits of her limited presence are felt more strongly than in other schools. However, the commitment of the management does not extend to including EAL expertise in forward planning and school improvement. It is also not reflected equally across the classrooms. Doris also thinks that class teachers could do better in learning about and actively promoting minority languages and multiculturalism.

The ethos of the school, being centred on universal moral values, means that a lot of teacher practices in Hillview are based on building respectful, equitable relationships with their pupils. It was clear to me that all participants from Hillview agreed that this was also their direction. As the Head teacher put it:

I want the children to feel that they have a strong voice in the school. I want them to be able to help shape policy and help shape the direction of the school. And that isn't really the part of the culture of schools here [in Scotland] yet. I think that for greater equality, you need to have that greater equality in school with all stakeholders, and children are a big part of the stakeholders. (Earnest, Head Teacher, Hillview)

However, because of the relatively small numbers of minority ethnic children in the school, Adrianna notices that if space is made specifically for issue-based discussions that are children-led, they would rarely include anti-racist or multicultural elements. This suggests that more sustained efforts on the parts of the teachers need to be made, helping all children realise that learning about diverse and global issues from multiple perspectives is enriching for them too. Otherwise, multicultural education doesn't take place and anti-racism is solely reactionary. Adrianna reflects:

I suppose that it [racism] is not an issue that teachers see coming up that often. When it is brought up, then we do touch upon it quite specifically. But maybe we don't do it

enough; maybe we should be doing it more...! [laughs] Because I suppose a lot of things... you see the children in one light in the classroom, and then you hear about things they are doing on outside that are quite a different story. So maybe we need to have our eyes a little more open as to other things that we are teaching in the school, really having an impact. Maybe we need to put in little bit more to have an impact. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

So the question of effectiveness of the school ethos, as opposed to truly modelling ‘moral courage to stand up to injustice’, persists. Also, antiracism that is mainly reactive in its nature does not seem to be effective. Even though the school has put into practice their own policies on anti-bullying and ‘race’ equality, which are revisited at the start of each year, they seem to be used to dealing with incidents, involving individuals in restorative justice meetings and sometimes in whole class drama activities on the topic, to help them empathise. The majority of racist name-calling incidents happen in the playground, and according to the class teachers, they sometimes do not even hear about them, as the Head teacher deals with those. They would only deal with them themselves if a parent or a pupil reported an incident to the class teacher directly.

Currently, minority pupils from the two P7 classes are rarely asked to offer their own distinct cultural perspectives, or even consider their multiple identities, especially the less confident ones. Doris, having been working across the school, notes that the extent to which teachers draw on children’s outside school experiences is very mixed. She believes it depends on individual teachers and their experience. So even though all children are learning to be empathetic and stand up to injustice, in practice those issues do not routinely include debating aspects of their own and others’ identity, neither are they consistently critically oriented. The white Scottish majority of pupils therefore have mixed opportunities in class to learn about others from a critically multicultural standpoint. Again, this is what the value-led assemblies and their subsequent discussions in class are meant to address, so the school has put systematic solutions in place. It is interesting to note that teachers like Adrianna show clear ownership of the drive to find solutions to the issue of monitoring what’s been taught in previous years, outcomes covered by individual class teachers and the resources used to get there, what she calls ‘the little steps in between the big outcomes’. She considers that the biggest issue they face now as a school is ensuring continuity in building on children’s previous experiences

from P1 up to P7, including aspects of multicultural and anti-racist education covered during their time in primary school. Andy, though, falls short of that mark. When asked about the opportunities to discuss complexity of minority and majority ethnic children's identities, he mentions two foreign-born girls in his class, saying:

'I think it would be nice for my girls to talk about where they are from. Because I think nobody in this class knows where Turkey is! Which scares me a bit! (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

6.5.3 Policy to practice translation

The underlying values of the school, based on rights, responsibilities, respect and equality, permeate school policies and practice and feature in relations across all levels within the school: between staff too. There is a number of whole school approaches reflecting that ethos.

One is the school's Value of the Month, where each month a new universal value is put in the spotlight at a school assembly by the Head, and is then taken into class by the class teachers to be 'followed up'. Similarly, the school policies on equality and racism and on anti-bullying go through the same, yearly process: introduced to the whole school at an assembly, then discussed in classes. These policies were created by the P7 children and are meant to be for the whole school community, meaning the children, the parents, and the teachers. The classroom versions (poster summaries) are also written by children and in a child-friendly language, then discussed with each new year group by their class teachers. They remain displayed in each class, on the doors and walls in visible places and are returned to occasionally. This suggests that the onus of putting the policy into practice is shared between school actors. Therefore the school-level policies should be alive, a part of what the school is creating and using every day. But are they really used as such?

Any new legislation and Local Authority policy gets translated onto the school level by the Head teacher with some input from the class teachers. Teachers are therefore offered their own, shorter but comprehensive versions of the policies, drafted by the Head teacher and reviewed together. Asked about her knowledge of new national/local authority Equality-

related policies, Adrianna thinks that racism is given more prominence than other aspects of injustice and inequality. Racist incidents especially are seen as disproportionately highlighted. Hugo is also concerned that social class inequality is not prominent in local authority policies. Andy believes that he doesn't have 'a great extent of knowledge of policies, aside from those I am involved in.'

Overall Adrianna thinks that policy documents have limited power in themselves, but have the potential to influence the school's life when they are actively interpreted by the school actors, translated to fit the school's practice, and specifically designed not to be shelved. This can be seen in the following quote, when we talked about national legislation and local authority policy documents:

They are just documents, that we put away somewhere. I think the ideas behind them are very good. And I think that Earnest is very good at promoting the policies without actually using the policy document... The policies that we have up in the classrooms, just the A3 sheets on the doors, I think they are a lot more useful than the actual written documents. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

Adrianna says the policy poster summaries on anti-bullying and 'race' equality are useful because they are 'more of a visual thing for us to see. And they're also easier to encourage the children to look at or to refer to with the children, or to talk through.' This is an example of creative and user-friendly implementation of the dry and long official policy documents in practice, with the Head teacher being the main 'interpreter' and allowing his staff to take a small part in the process.

The view on usefulness of school-level policies is challenged by Andy, who proposes that a new, different, more relevant 'database that tapped into kids interests', and that teachers could use in their daily work, would beat any school policy document. His critical stance is seen below:

In terms of the school, the policies are what they intend to prevent, they are almost preventative. There are not any policies that I am aware about celebrating cultural diversity. They are not working documents. They are things that seem that they are there for the purpose so the school can say they are doing them. But is it a proof? I don't know. Like these things up on the wall. Now and again I will use them. But I feel sometimes the things I did like with that football, serves a whole other purpose

than gluing that paper on the wall, that says they are doing that. We know what kids like these days, they like football, computers, shopping, Facebook, iPhones, we need to tap into things that are relevant for them, interesting, not dry stuff that you have to reinvent, that would make a difference, that would engage them – some help to bring things more modern, especially when teaching anti-racism and teaching multiculturalism. (Andy, class teacher, Hillview)

Andy is trying to find practical solutions. Yet one could consider that that his entire worldview, being heavily male, competitive sports oriented, despite the focus on fairness, values and role models is rather one-sided when it comes to gender.

These teachers in Hillview have the basics of responding to and recording racist incidents well covered. However, they do not feel that dealing with racism at school is always their responsibility, which they regret. The practice of responding to bullying or other incidents is described as instant and serious. It requires ‘sensitivity’ and is based on restorative justice approaches. Both Adrianna and Earnest mentioned that they are working towards children being able to stand up to injustice and racist bullying when they see it, resisting ‘getting carried along in the crowd’, as is commonly seen at schools. Adrianna called this ‘knowing they have got to stand up for what’s right’, which is the same principle Earnest stressed so much in our interview: giving pupils power and voice to act here and now and make a difference in their own lives and lives of their community.

6.6 Summary

To sum up, it is clear that practices based on socially just principles permeate the two teachers’ daily classroom lives, and are deeply rooted in the school-level policies. However, both teachers’ attitudes to education for racial equality seem to be overly safe and sanitised (Lander, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2001). Despite a strong focus on respect, fairness and other moral values, both teachers shy away from taking active roles in spearheading educational experience that would challenge systemic oppression and inequality explicitly and with all pupils.

Adrianna paints a picture of an equitable school, where she is happy to work and feels ownership of striving for improvement, as part of a team and also using her own agency. She acknowledges that racism is present at the school and mostly manifests itself as religious intolerance and name calling. She thinks that racism is well understood by children to be wrong but is still used as a weapon by some. Racism she has encountered at school pertains to religion and skin colour. She is confident she can take on broad equality and social justice issues. Many of those are planned in tandem with the other P7 teacher, Andy. But she also points out that it would be helpful for class teachers to be able to learn more, as part of their professional development, about innovative and successful ways of using those teaching methods in the classroom which give children more power, for example 'how to encourage children to lead debates and form their own opinions'.

Adrianna is less optimistic when reflecting on her own practice of explicit, pro-active antiracist and multicultural work. Those reflections however only came about towards the end of our conversations, when she commented that she is interested in the findings of my study as:

I think it's a very interesting topic that you're looking at. It certainly got my brain working a little bit more. (Adrianna, class teacher, Hillview)

In the opinion of the Head teacher, a comprehensive change in the school culture is hard, very slow and not as successful as he would like it to be ('It's hard going, really, it's like an iceberg, really.') It is also not guaranteed that the next leader of the school continues with this course of changes. Yet overall, the Head teacher presents the issues of responding to inequality and injustice as deeply embedded into the fabric of what the school is trying to do.

The key roles identified in Hillview are the Head's vision and leadership and the class teachers' commitment, enacted through all pedagogical practices (for example through open, respectful relationships between children and teachers and the assemblies centred on moral values). There is not a great deal of evidence of sustained, explicitly critically multicultural stance in the two teachers' practice. There is some evidence of grasping opportunities when they happen, although it is still patchy. It would be interesting to ask the children about their views, and compare these with the feedback that the Head teacher receives from children, which he

reported to be that ‘the weekly assembly had made them much more globally aware, much more aware of themselves within the world.’

Overall, it can be claimed that Hillview Primary indeed is one of the ‘good practice’ schools and engages in more multicultural education than other schools in general. School level, written policy documents reflect local authority policy guidance. They are also designed to be practically useful. They embody the values of justice and equality, fully embraced by the Head teacher, who composes school-level policy for teachers and consults it with them – a process which is not as successful as it could have been if it involved teachers in policy production from the start. Although class teachers were somewhat critical about the usefulness of any policy document, there is a presumption that all teachers will be aware of their details, as well as evidence that the children-made policies on ‘race’ equality and anti-bullying are used in practice by the whole school.

However, Hillview Primary still has some way to go to see critical multiculturalism as a value for all children in its own right. Currently, although led by the Head teacher’s efforts to do just that, it is rather carrying out work in response the identified urgent needs. Pupil diversity within their own school community does not seem to be triggering enough critical awareness to explore pupils’ complex identities or extend all children’s awareness beyond life in Scotland or the United Kingdom.

Chapter 7

Presentation of Findings: Case study 2. St. Clara's Roman Catholic Primary School, Sand City

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the complex ways in which teachers in St. Clara's, an urban, denominational primary school in a very socially mixed part of Sand City, negotiate 'race' equality. I begin by describing the school's context, before delineating my dual researcher and support staff role within the school. Next, research participants are introduced, after which I outline policies relating to 'race' equality which were used at St. Clara's. The subsequent presentation of research findings follows the main themes identified in the previous chapter. To remind the reader, these are:

1. Teachers' characteristics and dispositions
2. Structural boundaries
3. Translation of policy into practice

7.2 Setting the context

St. Clara's Primary is a Roman Catholic school with a roll of around 380 pupils. The percentage of pupils registered for free meals in 2009/10 was in line with national average. The school is located in the city centre, its catchment covering two distinct areas of Sand City. One is affluent, where most homes are owned. The other is a predominantly underprivileged, but now quickly gentrifying part of town, which attracts many migrant families due to more affordable private rents and a plethora of multicultural shops and businesses. Because of the school's denominational status and its location, it caters for a real mix of pupils: from highly socially advantaged families through families from a range of socially disadvantaged backgrounds, with higher than average proportion of minority ethnic, especially Polish, pupils.

The Catholic ethos of the school is described as very strong among the teaching staff and promoted steadily and energetically, as a matter of priority. However, the denominational character of the school attracts families for various reasons. Educating within the faith is important to some parents, yet about 30% of the pupils are not Catholics⁶, but predominantly believers of other Christian denominations, Muslims or Sikhs. St. Clara's Head teacher strongly believes that all parents who choose the school want its Christian ethos to be a major influence on their children. The Catholic class teachers also share this belief, and regard the Catholic focus of the education as something all parents, Catholic or not, agree with, because they have chosen to send their children to St. Clara's. The school therefore promotes the values of respect and fairness as if they are irrevocably connected to the Catholic ethos, implying they claim a monopoly on such values. The Head teacher believes that the school is therefore able to ensure 'better behaviour' of the pupils, which is one aspect that draws in parents who are not Catholic. For example, the Muslim parents are thought to be attracted to the 'strict discipline' of St. Clara's. The school regularly uses detention as part of their behaviour management policy. For the Head teacher, the link between the faith, its focus on teaching respect, using discipline and seeing good pupil behaviour, is definite and unproblematic. The perceived high standards of education are also believed to be a pull factor. Notably, all the above interpretations of parental choice are based on the teachers' and the Head teacher's beliefs, not evidence.

The school has been enrolling minority ethnic children of various religions, living locally in the catchment area, for decades. Since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, numbers of newly-arrived (and more recently Scottish-born) children from Eastern European origin have grown rapidly. Polish children are by far the largest minority ethnic group in Scotland today, which is reflected in St. Clara's. Yet the case of Polish families and their relationship with Roman Catholic religion is not straightforward.

⁶ Estimated numbers provided by the Head teacher

Post-2004 Polish immigration had a direct effect on the growth of Catholic congregations in Scotland, and significantly increased the rolls of Catholic schools. However, Polish attitudes to religion are often rooted in tradition and custom more than the faith itself. Even though on the whole, in the Polish communities of Scotland, many more people are practising their faith than in the Scottish community, the reality of Polish parents' religiousness is complex. Indeed, even those who choose Catholic education for their children, often do so not in an informed way, but as a matter of convenience or the effects of word of mouth recommendations. Crucially, many Polish parents do not realise the ways in which state non-denominational, denominational and independent schools in Scotland differ. Often newly arrived families join their friends or family who have arrived in the country earlier, and simply send their children to the same schools. One natural consequence of this is that all Catholic schools in Sand City now have large to very large numbers of Polish children, especially in the Early Years and lower schools. This is a new phenomenon across the city. St. Clara's also sees a lot of movement in its population, as families move within the city, the country or return to their countries of origin. Both such departures and arrivals can be sudden.

It was difficult for me to establish the proportion of minority ethnic children in the school's population. Although the school was considered very multicultural by its own staff, nobody was able to indicate the actual numbers for the whole school. One EAL teacher estimated that about 40% of the children did not have English as their first language. From my own observations of the school I would estimate that at least a third of all children's ethnic identity was built on multiple and sometimes complex backgrounds. In addition to the very large number of children requiring EAL support across all stages of English language development, there were bilingual and multilingual children whose English was fluent. Across the school, the number of minority ethnic children was different in each class, ranging from a handful to more than half the class.

The EAL presence in St. Clara's is much more noticeable than in other schools. The local authority provides EAL support according to year-on-year needs across the city and the changing numbers within schools, but here it is always substantial due to very large numbers. There is also some movement of EAL staff over the years. At the time of research, it included

2 EAL Teachers (dividing their work by children's age), 2 Bilingual Support Assistants (BSAs) (an Arabic speaker and a Polish speaker) and a Polish Bilingual Nursery Nurse (working with Primary 1 and 2 children). Each of the EAL staff came in on average one day a week, which was considered insufficient by all parties involved. Effectively, the children reaching higher levels of fluency and the natively bilingual children rarely joined specialist language developing activities, unless they were led by the EAL teacher for the whole class.

The EAL teachers provide a mixture of in-class and out-of-class support for specific bilingual children. The degree to which collaborative teaching of the whole class and targeted class teacher support happens in practice depends on class teachers' preferences. The EAL teachers try very hard for this to become the major aspect of their practice, so that taking bilingual pupils out of the class is the exception, but in practice this remains challenging. EAL teachers also lead the development of school wide improvement plans from an EAL angle, as part of the school's own evaluation process and in cooperation with the school management. This ranges from carrying out language assessments and implementing induction guidelines for families to encouraging teachers to create opportunities for children to use their first languages in class and to learn about and respect each other's cultures.

Another big part of the sustained EAL focus is improving the enrolment process for bilingual children. Its aims are to standardise the kinds of background information the school should get about a child at the point of entry to the Scottish school system. This takes form of an in-depth interview with parents and includes information on the child's previous learning, any additional support received or learning difficulties recognised by their teachers in nursery or school abroad, or parental concerns about aspects of the child's development to date. It also allows staff to start building a strong relationship between the school and parents, where the parents are able to ask any questions they may have about the system, the school or the practical aspects and expectations of their child's learning progress. The enrolment meetings take about an hour, often include the child, and are conducted by either the EAL teacher, the BSA or a management team member. Often, they happen in the parents' first language or through interpreters. The major challenge for the school is to make such enrolment processes a tool used systematically and universally for those who have just arrived in Sand City.

At the time of this research, another area that the EAL teachers were focusing on was promoting awareness of equality, diversity and anti-racism, in practical terms for the whole school. This focus also came from the local authority's direction for the whole EAL Service and was embraced by St. Clara's EAL teachers, who themselves participated in sustained professional development EAL provision on the topic, in the light of the changing legislation. Both St. Clara's EAL teachers were committed to the cause and confidently pushed the school towards evaluating its own practices and increasing its knowledge base on bilingualism, inclusion, diversity and equality. The new language of 'a culturally inclusive curriculum' heard in this school originates from recent EAL initiatives, which they hope will in time become mainstreamed and taken on by the teachers. I will return to these points later in analysis.

The EAL teachers constantly develop multilingual resources, for example games and reading and comprehension materials, which teachers, BSAs and EAL pupils can use in class. They also organise sessions for parents on the benefits of bilingualism and provide constant support for families, by making referrals to external support agencies who work with minority ethnic children and by creating closer relationships with parents.

This was also my dual role at St. Clara's. For more than a year before this research, and for another 3 years afterwards, I supported Polish bilingual children and their families on a weekly basis. The role of a Bilingual Support Assistant focuses on direct, one-on-one or group work, as agreed with the class teacher and the EAL teacher, but also support for the whole family in a liaising role between the school and the parents. During the school term when this research was carried out, I supported directly over 30 Polish children on each day of my visits, spending between 30 and 45 minutes in each class. Most in-class work was targeted at new-to-English children, but over time I found some spaces where it was possible to include all Polish speakers in a class in a variety of activities using both their languages. Initiatives such as open dual language book reading at lunch breaks, improving Polish language skills, or creating their own dual-language books and performances were greatly enjoyed by the children and showcased widely. It is important to note, however, that these were all EAL staff's initiatives.

Over the months and years, I would get to know the children, their parents, help them navigate the system and communicate with the school. Outside the classroom time, I would be asked to interpret during meetings and consultations, translate newsletters, make phone calls to parents, and generally help with whatever issues arose. Some teachers would see me as a cultural asset, most simply appreciated additional linguistic help. The Head teacher and class teachers sometimes asked me about aspects of Polish culture, life or the education system that they needed clarification on, or would check whether specific patterns of behaviour or levels of knowledge in some topics were based in the national/cultural sphere or due to other, personal reasons. Staff could also observe my interactions with particularly quiet children and get feedback on their level of understanding and their general feelings and wellbeing. I was often asked to help mediate peer relationships and resolve disagreements, as well as tackle particularly tricky topics in terms of vocabulary or help administer tests, which required translation of instructions on my part. Overall, my practical support was comprehensive but always left a desire for more. The impact of my actions on the children and their families was palpable and often left me wondering how the school would deal (or not deal) with issues if there was no Polish BSA. Similarly, it made me realise that many other language speakers and their families' needs may have been left unmet.

Needless to say, being an insider at St. Clara's, I got to know not only the bilingual children and their families, but also the class teachers and the senior management team. Being part of the EAL provision, I also had additional insights into the EAL teachers' current work and future plans for the school. Because it placed me as a researcher in a unique position, I decided to use all of this knowledge in critically analysing the data obtained from St. Clara's, allowing for a deeper understanding of the school. When adding such behind-the-scenes commentary, I will signal when it originates from my wider experience within the school.

7.3 Introducing research participants

Two class teachers (of Primary 3 and Primary 4), the Head teacher and two EAL teachers have been interviewed. Below I present their self-described profiles.

Alina is a 58 year old, female teacher of a Primary 4 class. She is from Scotland and describes her ethnicity as White Caucasian. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 39 years, and for the last 20 years in St. Clara's. She qualified as a primary teacher in a Catholic institution in Sand City. She has the experience of teaching in many diverse settings, as she explains that 'right from the start, my goal was to go out of Scotland and teach somewhere else'. She has taught in remote rural and urban schools, both across Scotland and abroad. She spent a number of years in Canada, Brunei, Gabon and Italy, mostly in international schools. She speaks fluent French and also good Dutch and Italian, which she claims to have picked up while teaching abroad. Alina believes teaching in multicultural schools, where staff were also multicultural, has had an impact on her, especially when it comes to her attitude to linguistic diversity, which she sees as natural and positive.

Fiona is a 26 year old, female teacher of a Primary 3 class. She is from Scotland and describes her ethnicity as White Scottish. She does not have a disability. She has been at St. Clara's for 2 years. Last year she completed her probationary year at the school and she is now in her first year as a qualified teacher. She qualified as a primary teacher in another part of Scotland. She has no experience of teaching outside of Scotland. She has recently started learning British Sign Language.

Lorna is a female Head Teacher in her late 50s. She is from Scotland and describes her ethnicity as White. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for over 20 years, not including taking a break of some years to have a family. She has been at St. Clara's for 12 years, where she has had all her promotions internally. Prior to that, she worked as a teacher in a number of other Catholic schools in Sand City. She has no experience of teaching outside of Scotland. Her experience of education, both as a learner and as a teacher, has been solely in the Catholic sector. She remarks: 'I've never taught in the non-denominational sector, so I don't have a good knowledge of it, of what they draw on in these schools'. Lorna is very happy with how St. Clara's is doing, saying: 'I like it very much, I've worked hard in this school, it's a good school, I've brought it on. I believe I worked as hard as I can so it's respected in the society and the neighbourhood.'

Yolanda is a 44 year old, female English as an Additional Language teacher in Sand City. She is from Pakistan and describes her ethnicity as Asian Pakistani. She does not have a disability. She has been an EAL teacher for 6 years. Before that, she worked as a Bilingual Support Assistant for 1.5 years and also as a primary teacher in an independent school in Sand City. She qualified as a primary teacher in Sand City. She also has experience of teaching in Pakistan, where she used to be a college lecturer. Between coming to Scotland over 25 years ago and beginning her teaching career, she was a 'stay at home mum'. Yolanda is currently enrolled on a postgraduate course at the local university, in supporting bilingual learners, which she finds stimulating. She is a Punjabi-Urdu speaker.

Doris is a 47 year old, female English as an Additional Language teacher in Sand City. She is from England and describes her ethnicity as British. She does not have a disability. By coincidence she worked as an EAL teacher in both Hillview and St. Clara's. She has been an EAL teacher for 2 years at the time of this research in St. Clara's. Her professional life has been described in detail in Chapter 6. She is also currently enrolled on a postgraduate course at the local university, extending her knowledge of supporting bilingual learners, which she finds stimulating. Doris is planning to start learning Polish.

7.4 Description of relevant school policies

A central theme of respect and fairness within a Catholic ethos is prominent in various school policies. The 'race' equality policy landscape in St. Clara's at first looks promising, but on closer investigation seems to be problematic. The Head teacher was asked what kind of policies were there in place which concerned issues of equality and diversity, or multiculturalism, anti-racism and anti-discrimination.

At the time of research (spring 2010) St. Clara's used the local authority's Race Equality policy from 2004 in an unchanged form. The Head teacher explained that in the past the Catholic schools used to draw up school-level policies but that 'the authority has agreed that that's unnecessary' and now they use the local authority level policy as their own guidelines. Lorna states that school doesn't have any other policies targeted specifically at anti-racism.

However, given access to a file of school policies, I found between them a school policy from 2005 which seems to be the school-level adaptation of the local authority's 2004 policy. It is written in a language of justice, fairness, multiculturalism and equality. Based within Catholic moral values of respect and dignity, it covers all the points from the authority's policy, on two pages of examples of good practice, written in an approachable, straightforward manner. These include the vision of a just school, promoting equal opportunities for all, and how to implement such vision in the curriculum (pointing to Religious Education, Personal and Social Education and Citizenship), as teachers and managers, finally stressing the need to monitor the policy's effectiveness. It looks very promising as it covers all the key areas I would expect to see in a short school policy. However, its authorship has been later traced to the EAL Service, which has provided many schools with this document written as a template, to be adapted by the school itself. As the Head teacher said, it is not currently being used in St. Clara's.

Interestingly, there was another copy of this policy attached to it, which included pencilled-in proposed changes on the text. Presumably, the school attempted to adapt the template policy by editing at some point. The comments suggested a lack of understanding of multicultural and equality issues. They were wholly limited to grammatical structures or style, no changes or additions to the content were offered, except for one, telling suggestion to delete the 'equal' from 'equal opportunities' where the document referred to planning opportunities to study important aspects of diverse cultural traditions. The author of pencilled comments remarked that the word 'equal' could be left out as in reality 'it is not true anyway'.

There is therefore a discrepancy between Lorna's conviction that the school should only use the local authority's documents and the fact that their own old version was still on the file. It is worth returning to the point made earlier that this research took place at a time of phased introduction of new policies relating to the Equality Act 2010. Additionally, the Head teacher only briefly notes that recently the school received a letter from the authority detailing 'the legal responsibilities, the legal duties, under the Race Discrimination Act... the new Equalities law.' She does not offer any more insights into the substance of these new directions. According to Lorna, the schools uses 'a lot of other wee bits and pieces, but [the authority's Race Equality policy] are the main guidelines'. Today, every school is required to have its

own Race Equality policy. This stands at odds with the Head Teacher's view, who may have misunderstood the authority's direction. The authority-school communication seems to have broken down somewhere at this intersection.

I had studied all other school policies and identified a few others for examination. The Anti-Bullying and the Behaviour policies (from 1997) do not mention racism or racist discrimination at all. The Support for Learning and the Learning and Teaching policies also do not mention anything relating to equality, diversity or discrimination, and only briefly acknowledge pupil EAL support. However, the Personal and Social Development policy (from 2003) lists citizenship, health, relationships, racism, bullying, disabilities, drugs, equal opportunities, discrimination, safety and sexism (amongst others) as some areas of its special focus for teaching and learning.

Reporting racist incidents is however stressed by the Head teacher as something that the school does as a matter of policy. Lorna is ready to point out that all incidents (which she calls 'incidents of racial remarks, racial behaviour and discrimination') are recorded 'carefully' and sent to the local authority. Lorna also stresses that in case of such incidents, the children involved will be 'spoken to', and also she would 'speak to all children at assembly and explain that it is not acceptable, reaching to the Race Discrimination Act [sic]'. A picture of zero tolerance, but also little explanation, is being painted by Lorna. She also reports a belief that if the school reported a high number of racist incidents, the authority 'would send somebody down, from the race equalities', to either help or punish the school for such behaviour. This view suggests that a high number of recorded incidents is considered detrimental to the school's opinion or status. Lorna did not offer any comment in evidence to the contrary, nor has she mentioned the school being pro-active in educating children about racism or any other type of discrimination.

To sum up, officially the school is supported by the local authority's Race Equality policy and uses the authority's incident reporting forms. Personal and Social Development policy was found to include, at least nominally, the need to address racism and build positive relationships in a culturally diverse community. Finally, the multicultural, equality and fairness policy from

2005, which seems to be dedicated to addressing multiculturalism and racial inequality, has not been acknowledged and is not used by the school, remaining an unsuccessful attempt at improvement by the local EAL Service.

7.5 Presentation of findings

7.5.1 Teachers' characteristics and dispositions

Prior knowledge and teachers' personal attitudes to diversity

Alina considers herself experienced in teaching in multicultural schools and knowledgeable about diversity, including the range of nationalities in the local community over the last 20 years. She sees migration as 'circular', raising and falling, and the resulting ethnic and linguistic diversity as natural. In her past, she experienced more 'culture shock' when working in remote rural Scottish schools where she encountered parochial communities, strong sectarianism or Gaelic culture, than on any of her overseas posts. Alina notes that it is those schools that require more input to change their attitudes to diversity and especially to feeling threatened by immigrants.

Alina considers herself lucky that she has travelled extensively. She would like Scottish teachers to be 'more adventurous' in choosing where they work – this includes remote rural schools in her view. She believes that when very different attitudes collide with each other in such contexts, with the right support from local authorities for the 'newcomers', both sides learn from one another and change ensues. This way, teachers would gain confidence to approach difference themselves and help children learn those same skills in relation to otherness.

Fiona has not experienced much multiculturalism before moving to Sand City for work. All through her Catholic education 'there were very few people of different nationalities'. While at university, she had some training on issues of poverty, but not about racial inequalities or

linguistic diversity. She states she would welcome further training on cultural diversity or 'race' equality, as 'it's always good to be aware of what issues might be coming up, or always good to get more ideas of how to deal with things if anything did ever happen. That might equip you better'. Such a reactive view permeates Fiona's attitude and practice. Curiously, Fiona thinks that Sand City is not that diverse, therefore there is no need to do more or be more proactive in her view. To illustrate her point, she claims that the city where she studied has a 'much higher volume of immigrants, and especially illegal immigrants'. She goes on to say:

Fiona: I know that there is a massive issue there, because we had a few lectures at the uni on the problems they have, whereas in Sand City there isn't accommodation for.... Whatever unit's the same... here, whereas there is there, so it's much bigger of an issue there than here....

Me: So you're talking about the refugees and the asylum seekers.

Fiona: That's the word. Yes, that's what I was looking for, the asylum seekers. But no, I know that this is a huge issue and they face a lot of problems with people stereotyping etc.'

At the same time, Fiona says her class is 'very diverse', readily listing the nationalities represented (4 Polish children, 3 half-Italians, 1 half-French child, and 'some other'). She thinks such multiculturalism is 'quite good for the children, to kind of understand different cultures and things', especially as children 'do bring quite a lot with them, that they keep sharing with the classroom'. Many more conflicting messages appear as we speak and are presented in later parts of this chapter.

Fiona's understanding of ethnicity and racism is under-developed. She declares a strong belief in equality between people and claims she directs her practice so as to 'make sure that the children are treated all the same, and are given the same amount of respect, the same opportunities, and not judging people, for whatever reason, and giving everyone the same chances'. Her belief in equality is based on a general commitment to fairness, which she attributes to her faith and her knowledge in the area of disability, 'rather than kind of cultural equality'. For example, she is currently learning British Sign Language and is keen to teach children about sensory impairments.

However, asked about the meaning of ‘race’ equality, Fiona gets very uncomfortable, and, after long pause, suggests ‘a kind of racial tension..? ...rather than actual dealing with or making sure that everyone feels equal’. Fiona struggles to see why ‘race’ equality is given prominence in education. She says:

Everything is so PC crazy now that it kind of brings it more to the surface, and it’s non... there’s an imbalance, but it can go out that nothing seems to be equal. It tends to be either that you’re overly racially aware, or under, it’s very difficult to strike a balance just now, because the different people are quite offended, can get offended by different things, because obviously everyone is different, so it is difficult... (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara’s)

In talking about practice with both class teachers, pupil diversity tends to be seen first in terms of language deficits. Fiona expresses this view when remarking that majority ethnic children benefit from being in diverse classrooms as they can empathise and help those with EAL. Alina adds that multicultural classrooms help the majority children be empathetic, but only from a perspective of difficulties people face when starting life in a new country. Finally, there is little acknowledgment of the possibility that minority ethnic children can be/are victims of racism and discrimination here, in Scotland, or in St. Clara’s for that matter. When talking about cultural diversity with both teachers, the term ‘culture’ was always left unpacked.

Conceptualisation of key terms

Alina has only heard of **multicultural education** as a term used in the media. Fiona is also only broadly familiar with the terms **intercultural education** and **multicultural education**. She knows the term **intercultural education** from friends who teach in Irish schools, where it is widely used. She likes it better than the terminology used in Scotland as it reflects a two-way interaction:

Fiona: **Intercultural education** sounds a lot more positive, rather than just saying – if it’s multicultural, then there are lots of people, whereas if it’s intercultural, then they are actually taking from each other and kind of working together more, so that’s more friendly term for what we are trying to do in schools in Scotland, rather than multicultural, but I guess it’s just because multicultural is the one you are used to hearing all the time.

Me: So does that mean that when you hear the term multicultural, does it suggest that it is about separate, different cultures?

Fiona: No. Well.... I think we kind of mix the two up, we use the word multicultural when we really mean the intercultural, but if you actually think of the two phrases, then intercultural is more of what we're actually doing, rather than the multicultural, but you just get so used to using a phrase. But it's not as positive. (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

For Fiona, **antiracist education** means 'treating everyone equally'. She speaks at length about the commitment to model treating others fairly and how sensitive children are to unequal treatment. However, it is evident when talking about her practice that Fiona is really struggling to engage with the idea that teachers can, or should, be involved in what academia calls antiracist education, especially with young children. For example, she is surprised at the thought of talking explicitly about 'race' as a category. She does not encourage that; in fact the only time this has ever 'come up' in her class was when children were drawing large scale self-portraits (which adorn one of the walls in class). Fiona recalls that:

Somebody had said, 'what colour should she do'? And then, the others in class were 'oh yes' and maybe they had suggested what she could use instead, but it wasn't really a kind of issue, it was kind of a matter of fact: 'oh yes she should use a different colour'. So it wasn't a big deal of anything, it was just 'that's fine'. (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

Fiona does not notice that this was a lost opportunity, because it wasn't perceived as a problem, and most situations when the 'race' card comes up it is in reaction to incidents. So this particular situation was glossed over and quickly swept under the carpet, perhaps in fear that it might stir up uncomfortable discussions, or worse, lead to a situation that could not be ignored. Yolanda recognises such attitudes, saying that:

In quite a lot of schools teachers are quite scared of labelling things as racist, or putting things in there. Sometimes it is easier to ignore. To just, I don't know, have a quick wee chat... Two turns: ignore it, or make a big fuss about it. No middle way of 'come on, let's talk about it – what's this all about? Where is this coming from?' (Yolanda, EAL teacher, Sand City)

So for Fiona, situations where she is forced to acknowledge that race or racism come up as topics, concern only the upper school. As exemplified in two quotes below, Fiona goes so far as to blame it on teenagers' increasingly unstable emotions:

There's been issues up the school, where... children have been shown anti-racist behaviours [sic], but that was more with my class last year, because they were older, they were more aware of it I think, but... it's never really been an issue. Because actually, because of the class they are at, they are all very accepting of each other, so I don't think it really has been an issue this year.

I think the younger ones are actually good in understanding as well, just because that has not really been an issue. Because you don't... well it's not really that I don't see the point, but if there are no issues then it's better to deal with things that are an issue, rather than bring up and say: 'Well, do you know that there is a thing called racism and it means that blah bla blah..' Because then that can sometimes put up a barrier for children as well, because you're drawing attention to it and it makes them focus on it more and does it make sense? Whereas why talk about it and draw attention to the fact that somebody is... 'Uh, yes, you are from here, and you are different from the rest'. Whereas if children don't see the difference, if they find it completely normal to be integrating, as it should be, then there's no point in addressing it. Whereas up the school it is when the children are realising it a bit more, that they are different, they notice differences in everything. That's their age, I think, getting to the teenager stage, when they are trying... the hormones etc, picking up on every little thing. (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

Such colour-blind attitude precludes her from taking up any multicultural or antiracist education in her daily classroom life.

Alina's take on **antiracist education** is different. She recognises that multiculturalism is often accompanied by an entrenched racism, in Scotland and in many other societies. She believes the only way to counter it is by 'teaching right attitudes', although she never actually uses the term 'racism' explicitly:

It's being aware of the different nationalities, of the different ethnic groups, but also being aware nowadays, that there is new Scotland coming through, who have every right to belong here. (Alina, class teacher, St. Clara's)

She proposes that local minority ethnic people having native Scots accents should not take the majority population by surprise anymore, although it often does. Alina feels very strongly that all people, including teachers, have to examine their own attitudes, because there are no

excuses for racism in the 21st century. She thinks ‘race’ equality needs to be put explicitly on the school’s agenda because it is a part of every teacher’s role. Children from the youngest ages can and should be taught that there is no need to see minority ethnic people as substantially different because we all make up society. Alina thinks antiracist education for the youngest ones should be aimed to help children ‘grow up knowing and accepting that you [too] moved along across the globe’. It may be too early to be teaching about colonialism,

...but your grandpa, or your father, was born here or came over, or whatever, you can discuss it that way. I think the earlier you can get them and see that you can integrate them and you can talk to them and the reason why - talk to them why their families came, and if they can find out that period in history – then it’s far better. And surely then we wouldn’t have a need for a-n-t-i-r-a-c-i-s-t [spelt out, with clear disapproval] education at the other end of the spectrum. (Alina, class teacher, St. Clara’s)

Consequently, Alina’s daily practice is very different from Fiona’s. I would suggest that Alina wants to accommodate difference, whereas Fiona would like to see difference assimilated into majority. During my observations of her teaching I noticed numerous, naturally occurring situations where she took opportunities that came up and reacted positively. This could be attributing value to various aspects of cultural diversity or regularly extending class talk on any issue to beyond the UK and Europe. For example the term ‘Down Under’ was picked up from a story and a conversation about the British Empire and the origins of the name West Indies ensued, towards the end of which a minority ethnic boy offered his observation that his dad plays cricket for the West Indies team. Alina often shares with her class her own travel experiences to open up horizons and make them relevant for her children. They have picked up this approach themselves (even the quiet ones!), as they are listened to and given time to share their personal opinions and experiences. Although Alina’s practice is still in the main concerned with the positive aspects of difference, and not centred on racist discrimination and oppression, she believes she is managing to promote good ‘race’ relations on a daily basis. She would not use this kind of language though as she prefers to speak in a descriptive way that children know and can relate to.

7.5.2 Structural boundaries (directions, barriers, limits, opportunities)

EAL influence

St. Clara's does not seem to have a distinct school direction from the management affecting 'race' equality in practice. Any action is guided by an individual class teacher's preconceived notions of fairness and equality. There was little evidence of an activist mind-set in the school aside from EAL teachers, who themselves are strongly guided by both personal dispositions and the EAL Service's policies and aims. Equality and diversity form very strong aspects of Doris' and Yolanda's practice.

Therefore in St. Clara's, Yolanda and Doris often signal the importance and the opportunities for critically multicultural practice, both to individual class teachers and the management team. However, they recognise that their power of influence can be limited. It is up to the school and teachers to take up their recommendations. Doris is very adamant about her role in making sure systems they put in place are being followed. If the school fails on something, she 'would make sure that it does get done... I want to have an active role in making sure it is being done'.

Yolanda also recognises that the variation between schools and teachers' commitment is a systematic barrier to more sustained equality work. She complains that the local authority's influence on schools, in striving for 'race' equality, is too weak. She observes that if the Head teacher is not focused on equality, the onus is wrongly placed on EAL teachers by the EAL Service, but they do not have enough power to bring structural change:

I think of the powers that we have to implement [the policies]. That leads to frustration as well. For example, why are the EAL teachers asked to encourage the schools to review their enrolment process for the bilingual pupils? Shouldn't that come from the authority to say: 'oh, there are EAL/bilingual pupils coming to enrol, this is the process that should be followed'? Why there is nothing there? How much can an EAL teacher influence that? Why is it put on the EAL teacher and not even on the EAL Head, but the teachers on the ground? They should encourage... Sometimes that can lead to a situation where a child was enrolled, but you were not aware, or were not there, and you didn't gather the important information, you've done something wrong. And you're like – no. We haven't got enough equality to go and change the Head of the school's mind to set the ways it should be done. Why? Because you said so. But if the authority said: no, that's the way it should be done, that's the way for the things to go,

so simple! And there's lots of areas of practice that raise questions like that. Why are we required to put this in place? It should be a part of the policy. (Yolanda, EAL teacher, Sand City)

At the same time, the two EAL Teachers identify and utilise any opportunities that come up in classrooms, which works best if they have already established a relationship with the class teacher. Yolanda thinks this is a systemic opportunity: placing the same EAL teachers in the same schools for longer helps to establish trust:

I have been finding while doing this job, that the longer you are in school, the better relationships you build with the staff. The better they can understand that nothing is too small or too silly or too simple to ask, the better communication you have, the more they come to you and the more you can have an impact. When you go new into a school, sometimes you don't know how your advice or suggestions will be taken, so you're a bit hesitant. (Yolanda, EAL teacher, Sand City)

This is where differences in teachers' length of service and experience are also proving significant. EAL support is noted by both class teachers, but their appreciation of it differs.

Fiona, a young teacher, conceptualises multiculturalism through a deficit lens and barely mentions the EAL support during our talks. This gives the impression that it is somebody else's responsibility - she is happy with it as long as the EAL staff just get on with it. She remarks that if she needs help with any particular subject or resources, she gets it and is very satisfied with the progress of her EAL children. When pressed, she admits that EAL staff can also help her understand 'social aspects' of minority ethnic children's difference, but unfortunately not fully in the way Yolanda intends. Yolanda (as I in my BSA role) is keen to be a bridge of cultural understanding, somebody the teachers are not afraid to ask about being Asian or Muslim, even though they should really be asking the minority ethnic children, and especially parents, directly. Fiona thinks EAL staff can help her understand the child's cultural perspective and help prevent her from making unjust judgements, but she reduces a child's cultural identity to an inability to follow rules, saying: 'different cultures will have differences. I think, maybe behaviour, what's expected from children... Because respect is shown in different ways in different cultures. That's one of the main things'.

I was therefore not very surprised to witness, during my observations in her class, situations where Polish children's ethnicity was invoked when being accused of some wrongdoing by white Scottish children, even though the alleged behaviour showed no link to their nationality. Fiona would not challenge this. Her 'common sense'/stereotypical attitude essentialises culture and attributes difficult behaviour to children's ethnicity and presumably lower standards of behaviour in other cultures. When asked, Fiona claims that 'it doesn't always necessarily have to be kind of a... connected to the fact that somebody is from a different country', yet she does not even once acknowledge gender or class differences, only that all-encompassing notion of culture; nor does she accept that children in her own class show discriminatory attitudes.

Alina is much more observant and experienced, able to draw some critical conclusions about the school's practice. She also sees difference predominantly through the lens of an additional language, as she states that even though the curriculum 'mentions' the need for teachers to accommodate diversity, 'to be honest, it isn't until you get the EAL Unit in, that you really see it, and I felt that my experience has taught me that I could approach it, I just got on with it'. Alina prepared for newly arriving EAL children by attending a refresher EAL course, and subsequently learned where she needed to adapt her practice to know 'where I have to teach the student better'. She also believes the EAL teachers at St. Clara's have greatly improved her approach to EAL learners by 'making her think' and encouraging her to be reflective. For example, she now sees the need for specific support for EAL children beyond language lessons, such as in Maths.

However, Alina is also very positive about the wider work that EAL teachers do at the school, for example she praised the EAL Development Plan for the school. Finally, she bemoans that younger teachers take EAL support for granted and become reliant upon it. Alina thinks this is due to their lack of confidence in approaching difficult topics for fear something can go wrong, mirroring what Yolanda had said earlier.

The prevalence of religious identity

In addition to the school centring their efforts on helping bilingual children learn English, aspects of children's religious identity are readily explored at the school. Lorna explains that due to increasing cultural diversity in Sand City, Catholic teachers have had to become more open to other religions, which she thinks makes them 'less introverted'. Alina states that accommodating other faiths 'isn't a big deal' and feels at ease about it. Alina is also very aware of each child's family background as she is committed to all children's academic success.

However, aspects of children's cultural or ethnic identity are on the whole much less discussed. They are wholly invisible for Fiona, who makes conscious efforts to never single anybody out, to never draw attention to their differences:

I stop myself quite a lot in trying to make it more... not uniform, but make sure that everybody is included, rather than saying... I don't think I've ever said 'We're all Scottish' because it's such a diverse classroom, there's so many different... So I don't think I ever do that. (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

She thinks teachers need to be really sensitive about this as such singling out is a greater issue than openly discussing aspects of who you are that make you stand out. She makes one exception, as during French lesson she happily ask the French-bilingual child for help. Her fear of getting it wrong is clear in all other situations and so she simply ignores those aspects she is not familiar with herself. This is further stressed when, asked about children's complex national and cultural identities, she says:

I just hope it's not an issue. It's complicated, but I hope they do not feel that they are kind of... Because it's great that they have two... em... And that they are really lucky that they have an insight into both.... em...' (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

Fiona seems to be both unaware and afraid of bringing out any aspects of difference, as it makes her uncomfortable. In order to make sure that all children are treated the same, but in a context where she cannot ignore religious diversity, culture is effectively equated to religious denomination.

Alina is able to notice and sometimes build on cultural differences in her class. For example, she notes that her Polish pupils are more adept in arts, have much better tactile skills and are generally better organised, which she uses as assets in class. Another example would be her ability to use Circle Time to bring out culturally embedded, often unique skills or abilities, to the forum of the class. And so she would encourage minority ethnic children to reveal aspects of their lives that the rest of the class would not have a chance to know about.

Notably, the school has no experience with secular perspectives. Since the vast majority of children follow the daily prayers and take part in RME classes, the practical issues of ethnic minority children's experiences in school are equated to their level of English language skills and their religious identity. In Fiona's class, all other aspects of their lived experiences are neglected.

Moreover, there are limits to how far children will get to know other religions. Lorna has a clear and strong view about this. She suggests that to say in a Catholic school that they 'celebrate' another religion's festival is inaccurate. She is keen to stress that all the school wants to and can do is to provide children with the information, but not in any way hint that they 'believe in it' or endorse it, because obviously they follow the Catholic faith and believe it is the only right one. In this way St. Clara's runs the risk of essentialising the notion of what a culture is and potentially further entrenching stereotypical attitudes about whole groups of people, even though it claims to be based in educating children out of ignorance and into respect for others.

These are very reductionist and deficit views. One result is that on the whole the school feels 'we are doing all we can' to ensure good relationships between pupils and does not see the need for more. The onus on integration is placed on the minority children and families themselves. For example, there are no minority ethnic parents on the Parents' Council, except for one woman who the Head teacher thought 'might be Spanish' – the others 'are a wee bit shy to come'. As Alina reveals, there used to be more involvement of minority ethnic parents in the school's life in the past, but as it was disproportionately multi-faith, the school was steered back towards promoting Catholicism. Even though the EAL teachers note certain

groups of families are still more segregated than others (for example Sikhs and Muslims), the Head teacher believes children are well integrated in the school when their language ability is improving and this is therefore the school's focus.

The reality of critical multiculturalism in practice

Fiona could not answer the question whether there is a whole school approach to 'race' equality, Alina thought there wasn't one. However, Alina was quick to point out that in multicultural schools 'you have to look at who's in your class, and what religions, and what ethnic groups might be in your class'. Then she can create spaces dedicated to discussing cultural diversity in her class, for example by drawing on multicultural events happening in the wider city, and making them relevant to the children. Alina's attitude is close to what the EAL teachers promote in St. Clara's.

The two class teachers have very different views on racism and anti-racist education. Fiona thinks there is not much racism at St. Clara's, saying: 'I've not heard of too many racial or cultural clashes or difficulties with children. Or even bullying in the school.' Her understanding of 'race' equality does not even allow for thinking that all children would benefit from learning about racial discrimination. Similarly to Lorna, she believes that racism is not a problem at St. Clara's because of the school's Catholic ethos and that teachers treat all children the same.

Alina takes a different perspective, having witnessed racism directed at most minority ethnic groups in the school, she has 'no doubt' that it exists. She blames it on people's ignorance and believes it is her role to call out and explain discriminatory remarks or behaviour. Alina admits both young children and the staff can hold racist views. She thinks that with young children it is common, but easy to change, because 'once they understand, once the children begin to think about it... they absorb it, and I think they take it on board and they remember'. Challenging staff attitudes, however, is a whole different story.

With those views in mind, it is necessary to point out that two wholly tokenistic multicultural initiatives were identified at the school. These are presented below.

Firstly, the school has created a Diversity Board, placed by the visitors/office entrance to the building. It shows the multinational community of St. Clara's with the use of flags and phrases in foreign languages next to the pictures of individual children. This board is placed high on a wall, making it readable only for adults. Some other corridor displays on the ground floor are placed in a similar manner, especially in areas that parents frequent, encouraging the interpretation that they are meant for visitors to the school. The majority of displays around the rest of the school are children's work at their eye level. Neither of the two class teachers mentioned its existence when we talked.

Secondly, St. Clara's holds a yearly Cultural Diversity Week, although, as the Head teacher explains, this year they 'haven't had one, because there were so many other things...'. Despite Lorna's claims that they try to 'embed that in the system, tie it to planning, rather than make it a one-off event, and then it's forgotten about', the examples of such systematic approaches she provides relate solely to introducing children to how other world religions celebrate their religious festivals.

The Cultural Diversity Week, when it takes place, doesn't go beyond the celebration of difference. According to Lorna, it happens 'just to make children aware that everybody is different, but they all have the right to be respected; and to just let people know, so they are not living in ignorance about other people's cultures'. This is in reality the only time when minority ethnic parents are engaged by being encouraged to take part, share their food, stories and national costumes. From my BSA practice I know that for the Diversity Week, classes tend to pick a country that they will focus on and showcase their learning about it to the whole school in a rotation system, so that all children get to 'experience' this other 'culture'. It is really about what makes nations distinct from one another. Children learn some facts about a country, its people or ways of life, then choose aspects that they would like to introduce the rest of the school to. There was no evidence of critically oriented activities. It would have been interesting to ask the children how they understood such 'cultural' input.

Both EAL teachers and Alina were critical about this practice. Alina notes that initially it had been a parental idea, but that such practices quickly become ‘tired’ and even when you put them aside for a while and return to them later, in the long run they are ineffective, as ‘nothing, at all, nothing changes’. This is why she prefers the sustained EAL focus, which seems to be sufficient for her.

Polish children’s surface or deep integration?

Across the school, a common theme of Polish children not integrating with the rest of the class kept coming up. The staff all feel that with the rise of large numbers of Polish children with little English at school, this issue grows. Lorna explains this by their need for common understanding and support, pointing out that as the children gain more language skills, they make friends across the board. However, there have been incidents in the playground where groups of Polish children would exclude anybody non-Polish from their games. Clearly language was not the problem here, as the children were heard to say: ‘No, no, this is Polish football, if you’re not Polish you don’t get to join in.’ Lorna calls this ‘almost a reverse racism’ and blames it on group mentality. The school dealt with that in assemblies and discussions in class and as Lorna says, ‘we’ve ironed it out’, although she does not go into details. However, in my BSA experience I observed that teachers were often worried when Polish children were only friends with other Polish children.

Both class teachers notice the trend of Polish children ‘sticking together’ and attribute it to the fact that their Polish is much stronger than their English, as they speak Polish at home. In Fiona’s class, other bilingual children use English at home and therefore do not struggle to make friends across the class. Both teachers therefore break Polish groups up by pairing them to work with native English speakers. Both believe it is natural to ‘tend to go with people that they are most comfortable with’ and are not worried about that. In fact, Fiona recognises the feeling, saying: ‘I think I would do the same, I know I do, if I am in a different country, I try to...’.

This is an often-debated issue in multilingual schools – how much children with a common language depend on each other and whether this should be discouraged or encouraged by teachers. The EAL perspective tells us that especially at the beginning stages of language acquisition, such peer support is both welcome and necessary. With time, children become more confident and diversify their friendships. I have witnessed that as a BSA in St. Clara's many times and would say there was always strong correlation between the number of years spent in a Scottish school and how 'integrated' the minority children seemed to be. Reasons related to a child's personality or personal circumstances also played a role but most children simply needed time to open up and speak freely in the new language. There was little evidence to suggest that either class teacher actively helped bilingual children with the development of their social relationships, although I have seen in other classrooms teachers employing specific whole class programs to tackle just that.

Interestingly, Yolanda thought Polish Catholic families integrate better into the society than non-Christian minorities. They are white and not visibly minority ethnic, also their religion is not seen as 'threatening' or 'exotic'. However, Polish children can also sometimes be victims of racism and discrimination at school, and the EAL staff suggest that minority ethnic children socialising with their own group could be a result of experiencing exclusion or rejection by majority ethnic children.

Curriculum for Excellence

The curriculum in St. Clara's is not seen as a vehicle to take forward multicultural and antiracist education. As Yolanda puts it:

Multiculturalism is a very new thing, especially in the Curriculum. And multiculturalism outside is a reality that nobody can escape now, in the society, but in the curriculum, it's quite recent. And although there is a big push in the Curriculum for Excellence, there are not many examples on the ground, still... Some teachers are actually finding that it gives them more scope for bringing in things that they personally believe should be included. My feeling is that in the hands of good teachers it will be brilliant. In teachers who need more support and more structure, don't know where it is going to go. There is no escaping from the personality of the teacher. (Yolanda, EAL Teacher, St. Clara's)

What Yolanda calls teacher personality, I link to their dispositions, agency, underlying knowledge and characteristics.

Alina admits she has not ‘fully looked at the Curriculum for Excellence’, as both the curriculum document and other national and local authority policies are ‘all jargon’. She claims that her open unwillingness to study these documents was the principal reason why she decided against applying for promotion during her long career. Alina rejects the need to ‘absorb all the legal things’ to be a good practitioner. Fiona on the other hand speaks confidently about her knowledge of the Curriculum for Excellence and agrees that it can give teachers more freedom to explore issues, but at the same time questions how far that freedom can go.

Nonetheless, both teachers’ examples of what can count as multicultural education are not linked to the Curriculum, but often to moments where they try to address ‘issues that the children are having’. This is primarily at Circle Time, which in Fiona’s class counts as citizenship education. Her class also regularly write diaries, which ‘gets them to think about their feelings and what’s happened and what maybe they’d like to change’. Both those areas are seemingly children-led. It is questionable if the children ever feel confident or able to express issues that the teacher would find contentious, as it is clear she steers away from those at all times.

Fiona claims that if she had a less diverse classroom, it would still be good to make children ‘more aware and more sensitive to other people’, especially in preparation for high school, where in her view the real problems with discrimination start. However, this does not show through in the way she speaks about her practice. She believes that children should experience otherness and that this is what the Curriculum for Excellence promotes: being able to relate learning to real life experiences. But she only talks of ‘other cultures’ in an uncritical and idealised way. Alina’s practice is actually closer to Fiona’s ideals, whose real ‘multicultural’ content is limited to the celebration of religious festivals. Fiona is open that ‘it can be quite difficult to incorporate, but I like to take at least one topic a year and make sure that it does touch on difference.’ This year she has therefore decided to look at Christmas, ‘because they

all have their own experience of Christmas and what it's like, so it's good to look at from different perspectives'. Using a map, they looked 'at the different ways that the different countries and different cultures celebrated Christmas or any other winter festival that was going on'.

Only Religious and Moral Education is seen as the curricular site of teaching children that differences between people should be accepted. Fiona claims that there is no need for more, even when practice varies from teacher to teacher, because 'the Catholic ethos in the school generally should be promoting diversity and nurturing children in whatever culture or religion they come from and making sure that everybody feels welcome and is appreciated. The children are more socially aware, and they care about other people, so it's a moral education'. Notably, she adds: 'I've never had any experience in a non-denominational school, so I don't really know any different, I don't know how it could be explored, so it's difficult to say...'

7.5.3 Policy to practice translation

As shown in the previous section, the underlying values of the school, based on the Catholic ethos, permeate class teachers' practice. The teachers believe that this ethos is so strong, that 'although it is not called a policy, it is the ethos, that's probably the most important thing that you should be basing your work, the actions... on'. Fiona explains that 'following [the ethos] includes diversity and equal opportunities for all children, regardless of their equalities or inequalities [sic]'.

Class teachers are therefore not aware which policies the school uses to promote 'race' equality. Fiona thinks the Behaviour Policy includes directions on how to respond to incidents of 'racial behaviour' [sic] and thinks maybe the Health and Safety Policy could be relevant. There is no mention of the Personal and Social Development Policy or any other dedicated equalities documents. When asked about local authority or national level policies, she misunderstands the question and talks about her knowledge of alternative school systems and comparative education. In general, she believes the role of policy is to reassure teachers that what they already do is acceptable; policies are not written to offer practical guidance based

on which teachers would plan. Her view that teachers' professional judgement comes before any policy direction is presented below:

Because common sense a lot of the time is important, but there are some policies that if people haven't ever been in that situation, or if it's important to have the information there just to make sure you are doing the right thing. Obviously, I made the [school] policy for if a situation happened [again] where there was a death of a parent or a staff member or a pupil in the school – I think it's more for reassurance, rather than 'I can't make a decision because I need to check to polices'. That would be my main [understanding]. Generally, most things, in your day to day life in the schools, you don't really need to use them, because it is common sense, and your professional judgement would be... (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

This suggests a view that a teacher's mind set, the values they carry, take precedence in their practice over any policy direction. In this case, when Equalities policies and legislation are simply unknown to teachers, there is no chance for them to use them as guidance, despite the Head teacher's formal assertions. The translation of policy from either of those levels breaks down at the point of reaching the school. The local authority's 'Race' Equality policy was unknown to the class teachers, the Equality Act was not acknowledged, and even the school's own Personal and Social Development policy was unused. At the same time, teachers are reportedly involved in policy production and evaluation, but this must relate to other, unnamed school policies.

The EAL teachers' perspective acknowledged the complex nature of policy translation. Firstly, it is noted that the nature of major educational policies is not one where dialogue with teachers take place, as seen through the words of Yolanda:

What happens to the policies themselves? Who reads the policies? And who makes them? Do we get to influence the policies? Do we have a say in policies? If we do, I don't know (Yolanda, EAL teacher, St. Clara's)

Next, it is acknowledged that the meanings individuals attribute to key concepts are not uniform, but result in a multitude of interpretations. Yolanda would welcome more opportunities for teachers to debate, share and read about these concepts, to come to their professional understandings of them, as:

Everyone takes the meaning that is readable for them and for what they do, they assimilate it. But what do the policies mean really? Yes, I don't know. That's a good question! Because multiculturalism might mean something totally different to me, to you, to a third person. (Yolanda, EAL Teacher, St. Clara's)

However, Yolanda thinks that getting used to operating within the language of Scottish equalities policies can be useful:

Because in a certain sense, I think the labels are necessary, as a starting point. You need to have something in place to raise your consciousness, that this is something that we need to be doing. But only as a starting point and once that is in place, that is established, it should be taken away. Then, multiculturalism is the norm. Is not a label. Anti-racism, is not something... you know, that's the ideal utopia society, but it is the way you should be behaving towards everyone anyway. Being fair to all cultures, individuals, society. But until that time, as a starting point to go that way, maybe we need the label. I don't know. (Yolanda, EAL Teacher, St. Clara's)

The one policy both class teachers talked about was reporting racist incidents as a matter of school policy. Class teachers are aware that if and when a racist incident happens, the Head teacher deals with it, and this is an accepted procedure. Fiona does not question this and does not seem to know what happens after that. She states:

We take it to the Head teacher, that's our school policy, then the Head teacher refers it on if it needs to be dealt with, either by the Police, if it's very serious, or any of the other agencies – it depends on what the incident is. But even if the word... if a child had said that someone's being racist or if that word is even mentioned, then you get sent straight down to the Head teacher to deal with. Because obviously the children have to know that that's really serious. (Fiona, class teacher, St. Clara's)

The extent to which incidents are discussed in class, post-factum, is limited to talking about it from the perspective of 'why do you think this wasn't acceptable'. Fiona agrees that sometimes there is no time for it. There doesn't seem to be any systematic or personal commitment to engage seriously even with such incidents, despite stating their 'seriousness'. Fiona does not give any more details.

Lastly, the school is obliged to nominate a member of staff as an Equalities Coordinator. The Head teacher did not put much emphasis on this role, though, as firstly she struggled to remember its official title ('Race... Race Coordinator... Racial Equalities Coordinator we call

them'), and secondly she admitted that the position is currently unfilled. It used to be held by an experienced class teacher, but as I know from working in St. Clara's, in the year following this research it was given to a Learning Assistant with no special preparation for the role. The EAL Teachers were especially unhappy about it, because they knew it took some conviction, authority and confidence to carry out such a role effectively. They were concerned that the rest of the school would not follow a Learning Assistant's lead. The role remained only titular.

7.6 Summary

St. Clara's holds a firm belief that its Catholic ethos is reflected in the focus on respect and fairness. The school believes in its special claim on those values. They also believe that strict behaviour management is appropriate for a primary school and cherished by the community. There is no evidence of restorative practices at the school, neither is there evidence of any useful policy nor indeed sustained, mainstreamed practice of education for 'race' equality. The school as a whole does not see its role in exploring and valuing the richness of its multicultural diversity, nor the need to be proactive about racism and discrimination. These terms were not even mentioned by the Head teacher. Instead, the role of the school is to promote the Catholic ethos and Catholic moral values, in a colour-blind environment.

Only the EAL staff put sustained efforts into supporting both minority ethnic children, their families and working with the school to turn their attention to critical multicultural practice. How the class teachers took it up depended on individual teacher characteristics. Both class teachers in this study saw difference predominantly in terms of religious and linguistic diversity, but were better at addressing what they saw as language deficits, than considering various aspects of children's complex identities. Teachers believed they addressed the religious diversity represented in the school, but in fact the majority of the children were not exposed to world religions, as the promotion of the Catholic faith across the school prevented them from doing that.

Effectively, there is no evidence to suggest that critical multicultural and antiracist education took place in St. Clara's classrooms. Instead, the two class teachers' practices exposed a mass

of missed and just a few grasped opportunities to engage children explicitly in cross-cultural activities, building on similarities between people. Few examples of examining the represented countries' achievements in literature, art, culture or science were found. Similarly, very few examples of engaging the majority children in multicultural or antiracist education were seen. Critically oriented topics covering history, conflicts or discrimination were avoided.

It is noticeable that both within the unused St. Clara's policy pertaining explicitly to 'race' equality, and in all talk about the topic with the Head teacher and class teachers, there is a visible unease with the terminology involved. The term 'race' is, however, used frequently by the older staff members. Lorna for example speaks about 'children of other races' and 'a mixture of races' when she discusses groups as diverse as Asians, Muslims, Polish, British and Scottish children, as if the concept of 'race' represented their distinctness and stood true. Fiona shies away from any terms other than culture; even inclusion as a concept did not figure much in our conversation.

Alina remarked at the end of our conversation: 'I found that interesting what you said about discrimination. And that racism isn't just colour of your skin, but religion and everything. That aspect hadn't dawned on me. I see that as sectarianism, right, and not as racism, but OK'.

Yolanda also notes that the one area that she feels least confident in is 'the changing terminology that comes from above. The politically correct terminology'. She would like to have collective, informal EAL teacher meeting time to discuss reflections of the day with like-minded colleagues. She misses the staff room type interactions with other EAL teachers, not built in to the peripatetic nature of her practice, allowing her to reflect on her own practice and learn from one another. Reflexivity is therefore noted as an important, but often neglected, aspect of all teachers' professionalism.

Chapter 8

Presentation of Findings: Case study 3. Orchardbrae Primary School, Lakeshire

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which teachers in Orchardbrae Primary, a non-denominational school in a highly deprived, rural area of Lakeshire, negotiate 'race' equality. The influence of whole-school approaches and focused leadership is stressed throughout the chapter. I begin by describing the school's context, introducing research participants and outlining the policy on 'race' equality which the school used. The subsequent presentation of research findings follows the main themes identified in the three previous findings chapters. These are:

1. teacher characteristics and dispositions
2. structural boundaries
3. translation of policy into practice

8.2 Setting the context

Orchardbrae Primary is a rural, non-denominational school with a roll of around 180 pupils and 60 nursery places. The school is located in an area of multiple deprivation. The percentage of pupils registered for free meals in 2010/11 was twice the national average, reaching 40%. The majority of homes in the catchment area are privately rented; the school also serves two Traveller sites. Moreover, there is a women's refuge in the community, with a changing group of residents. Overall there is considerable movement of families. Almost a third of all children and families are supported by the local Social Work Department.

Around 13% of pupils are Traveller children, who come from two very different Traveller backgrounds, according to the Head teacher. Being the largest single minority ethnic group,

they are well supported by the staff, who have many systems in place to ensure their inclusion. The Head teacher believes that the Traveller families regard Orchardbrae as ‘a place where they can be accepted’ and they recommend the school to other Traveller parents. The school can therefore ‘get to know families, and we tend to have the same families for long spells of time’, as the school works with Traveller parents to keep places for returning children.

Issues of family movement also affect other ethnic minorities. Each year there is a handful of different minority ethnic children at the school, but this number fluctuates between only 5 and 10. At the time of research, the Head teacher pointed out there were two ‘local resident’ Asian Muslim children (Scottish-born, native English speakers), and three ‘new to English’ children: two Pakistani Muslim children and one Polish child. In recent years, there were 2 more Polish families, but they have moved elsewhere. All of the three ‘new to English’ children are noted to have exceeded teacher expectations, with one Pakistani child being described as ‘the brightest pupil in class’ by the Head teacher. The fact that the Head teacher decided to point out the attainment of those children brings up some questions: is it because of the school’s focus on attainment in relation to all children in such a deprived area; is it because of the link with Traveller children’s interrupted education; or does it have to do with stereotypically low expectations placed on bilingual children entering Scottish education? I will consider these questions again towards the end of this chapter.

As a result of the pupil make up, authority support for Travellers is taken up by the school in the form of Traveller Education specialists, who are with the school for a prolonged, specific period of time, when the need is identified by the school. Orchardbrae does not currently receive EAL support, although they have in the past, when preparing for the arrival of ‘new to English’ children. In those instances, EAL staff from the local authority visited the school to talk to teachers, offer advice and help identify useful resources. The Orchardbrae Head teacher is very happy with the flexibility and availability of those specialist support services.

The ethos of the school is visibly based on inclusion and care, which was seen in observations of the school and classrooms and also reported by the research participants. This will be detailed throughout this chapter. Julia, the Head teacher, paints a picture of an inclusive school,

where (under her guidance) teachers plan learning experiences for all children, accounting for their distinct backgrounds. This presupposes that teachers are fully aware of any and all specific needs and locate their practice within a social model of understanding difference. This practical, inclusion-based perspective is so strong, that when asked to assess how school policies on inclusion and equality affect practice, Julia says:

I think it's really easy actually, because I think children are just children. Every child comes to school with their individual story, and their individual need, and I think it's the adults' job to get to know them. So if they happen to be a Traveller, or if they happen to have just moved over from India, it's a part of their story, so I think whenever the teacher is planning, they plan for their children. So, I don't think you have to plan differently for a Traveller child because they are a Traveller, unless, part of their story is, the fact that they are not around sometimes. Then you can plan for interrupted learning. To me, it's just seeing kids as individuals, and that's it. Because if you had a child in your class that was very quiet, not integrating properly, doesn't matter if they were a Traveller, or not speaking the language, you would still deal with that problem for them, because you need to be trying for them to be integrated. You aim for them just to become one of the children of the school. And if teachers took that on board for every child in their class, there would be a lot less things happening to the kids, and a lot more things happening for the kids. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

Julia believes that good teachers are committed to inclusive education, treat children as individuals, and respond to their needs by seeing that 'their first line of duty is the nurture'. The findings suggest that the two class teachers involved in this study have internalised this to a significant extent. I will demonstrate the basis for making such claims in the following sections.

8.3 Introducing research participants

Two class teachers (of Primary 2 and Primary 3) and the Head teacher were interviewed.

Claire is a female teacher of a Primary 2 class in her 30s. She is from Scotland and describes her ethnicity as Scottish. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 4 years in two socially mixed schools in Lakeshire. She does not have any experience of teaching outside of Scotland.

Michael is a 34 year old, male teacher of a Primary 3 class. He is from Scotland and describes his ethnicity as Scottish. He does not have a disability. He has been teaching for 5 years in various schools across Lakeshire. This is his second year in Orchardbrae. He qualified as a teacher with a PGCE from the nearest large city. Before he began his teaching career, he used his first degree in Physics while working as lab technician and an audio engineer. He does not have any experience of teaching outside of Scotland.

Julia is a 53 year old, female Head teacher. She is from Scotland and defines her ethnicity as Scottish - White. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 27 years and has been at Orchardbrae for 6 years. Over the years, she had worked in many other Lakeshire schools, including in secondary special education, with children exhibiting 'challenging behaviour'. She also has the experience of teaching in highly selective, single sex, English grammar schools, where she worked with some Sikh and Chinese children. She qualified as a teacher in Sand City. Prior to that, she worked in accounting and in libraries.

8.4 Description of relevant school policies

Orchardbrae has one explicit, stand-alone, school specific policy specifically targeting 'race' equality. It speaks of promoting racial equality; an inclusive approach to all pupils; valuing and respecting difference; challenging and preventing racism and preparing children to become citizens of today's multi-ethnic society and the wider, interdependent world. The policy is based on the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and at the time of this research was about 10 years old. The document is very user friendly and designed for teachers, parents and children themselves. It has 4 parts.

Part 1 explains to teachers and parents what the rationale for this policy is and how the school will implement it. It speaks of the school's inclusive ethos, the Head teacher and other staff's responsibilities to promote equality and positive behaviour, and finally delineates the exact process used to deal with racism. This involves recording all bullying, investigating incidents, discussing and resolving them with children and their parents. Specific information on minority ethnic or bilingual children's needs relating to their 'culture, religion or first/other

language' is asked for during the enrolment procedures, to be passed on to all future teachers and to enable the provision of additional support if appropriate. This section explicitly mentions sensitivity to the needs of Traveller families and children with EAL.

Part 2 deals with definitions of key terms in this area, such as racism and cultural discrimination. It also has a section written specifically for children.

Part 3 lists the principles behind critically multicultural practice and matches them with procedures that the school and teachers should follow to ensure its application. It also covers the area of how to avoid ethnocentrism and other types of bias in school materials. All this can be used as a self-evaluation tool for both the Head teacher and class teachers.

The final part of the policy constitutes an outline program for integrating the promotion of racial equality throughout the school. It lists topics and projects that should be covered in each class (such as valuing self, stereotyping, human rights, cultures in and not in our community, prejudice and bigotry, and lessons from the past). The document also lists a number of possible curricular areas and resources which can help integrate multicultural and antiracist issues into the school's everyday practice.

Overall, it is a very robust and friendly policy document. The school also has on file the local authority guidance policies, but the Head teacher indicates that the school level policy is sufficient for their needs. Unfortunately I was unable to find out about its authorship.

8.5 Presentation of findings

8.5.1 Teachers' characteristics and dispositions

Prior knowledge and teachers' personal attitudes to diversity

Claire shares that personally she has had very little experience of multiculturalism in her life. She is not sure whether Scotland is becoming more diverse as her exposure to ethnic diversity

is limited to the schools of Lakeshire. She thinks large cities may be more multicultural. She has also not witnessed much racism around her, saying that because the minority ethnic population of Lakeshire is small, she tends not to notice negative aspects of cultural diversity. She has only ever worked once with a minority ethnic teacher at the same school and thought that everybody got along well. However, Claire acknowledges that her experiences are limited to educational establishments only:

So in my experience in this school, a nice school, everything is fine. But I don't know what's going on in the world, in workplaces or on a building site... I don't know really what people can be like out there in the adult world, because I work with children all the time. It's, you don't know. You just hope that those children we are teaching are going out in the world and not being like that [racist]. (Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

This suggests that her focus on racism and racist discrimination in particular could be hard to come to the fore in her practice, as this understanding of difference is rooted in broadly understood inclusive education and meeting individual children's needs in the classroom.

Michael too is open about the fact that he 'actually had no experience with diversity' growing up or throughout his own education, 'not even English people'. The only time he has really ever had contact with multiculturalism was while living in London for 2 years prior to taking up his teacher education back in Scotland. He describes this time as a 'huge, real eye opener, I mean that was the first time I was around people who were, you know, Africans, Jamaicans, West Indies, but it didn't bother me. I was working alongside people who were from different cultures, and that didn't bother me.' This suggests that cultural diversity remains something that other people are involved in, not typical teachers in a rural primary school, and also that the small number of minority ethnic children and their families at Orchardbrae are still a novelty for teachers like Michael and Claire.

Michael also hasn't had any input on equality or bilingualism related matters during his PGCE, nor through any CPD. He says that he would like to see courses available for teachers that cover other educational systems, to get to know any differences in the experiences migrant children would have had at school in their country of origin. Michael would like to know how to navigate the different expectations from both sides – how children think they will learn in

Scotland and for teachers to know what was expected of them in their own society at a certain age. Moreover, he thinks it's important for teachers to find out about the country of origin in itself, to get to know other types of script and 'what their culture is like'. He goes on to say:

Michael: You know, what's Poland like? Is it... well I don't really know, I don't! I just presume it's a bit like Scotland but with a different language!

Me: Yeah...

Michael: Oh is that right? [laughs]

Me: The weather is more diverse. Colder winters and hotter summers [laughs]

Michael: That would be interesting.

Michael does not indicate that he would be able to (or want to) do this kind of investigative work on his own accord, he implies that this should be a systemic arrangement. This point could be debated to consider whether teachers should use their own agency whenever possible, or rely on the support built into the system.

Julia feels very strongly that poor practice cannot be excused by the lack of teacher personal experience with diverse communities. Teacher professionalism does not allow them to remain ignorant or exploit attitudes they grew up with as excuses for how they think now, 'especially not if you're in a profession like ours, where a part of your job is to change your mind about things. You've got a responsibility to do that.' In other words, attitudes are there to be challenged, and Julia sees it as part of her role as the school leader to make sure that teacher practices and expectations are children-led, not pre-set and inflexible.

Understanding of difference

The understanding of diversity as an ordinary aspect of pupils' lives, promoted by the Head teacher, is clearly shared by Claire and Michael. Claire sees difference through many interconnected lenses, which centre on inclusion and are always built on range of diversity of the children in her class. She speaks of different children's needs in relation to their age, social class, parental attitudes to education and the support they can get at home, their speech development, interests, confidence and social skills. Claire supports all of her class in appropriately personalised, inclusive ways.

Similarly, Michael believes that his class is not very diverse in terms of 'race', pointing out that the two Scottish Muslim children in his class are just that – Scottish children of a minority religious background. He does not comment on their skin colour or religion further, remarking: 'they've been raised in Scotland, they speak Scottish, Scottish is their first language, I don't see any difference between them and any of the other children in the class, because of their background and how they've been raised'. Michael thinks that his class is very diverse in other terms, social class differences being the biggest factor affecting children's learning, as 'each one of them has a different experience before they get to school. You know, like good experience or a bad experience'. Michael realises how challenging it is to disrupt the cycle of transmission of social class inequalities, and in his practice concentrates on forming close relationships with his pupils to positively affect their school experiences. The one Traveller child in his class is receiving extra support in class, but is also seen as part of the school's community.

Claire firmly believes that because 'all the children are different, they all have their own needs', it is her role to make sure they all feel comfortable and included in the class. She says: 'I just make sure, that the atmosphere in my class is inclusive. That the children feel valued'. Although this year she says she does not have 'any children from a different culture' in her classroom, she still values 'the different backgrounds they come from'. In the past, she had taught both bilingual learners and Traveller children, receiving specialist EAL or Traveller

Education support, and, like Michael, simply acknowledges that she too had supported them in the classroom.

Michael has some experience of teaching minority ethnic children, and considers himself lucky in that all pupils 'that have been from different countries, or had different language... skills, they have been in school for a couple of months at least before I've had them. And so they've actually developed some language skills'. When supporting children's developing English language skills, he believes he pushes them as much as all other children and has similarly high expectations, making appropriate allowances and providing support in the same kind of way, 'not doing anything different than normally' to help them achieve.

Claire believes that her commitment to inclusive practice is a combination of personal drive, her faith (which she keeps private and only mentions at the end of the interview) and the teacher education she received, where she had learned how to plan for an inclusive, diverse classroom. Claire believes her Initial Teacher Education has helped her be more culturally aware, know how to plan for EAL learners and assess her resources for ethnocentric bias, to reflect the multicultural nature of today's society. She is used to asking specialist teachers for advice and reflects that with cuts to public spending, such support services are disappearing from Lakeshire, especially EAL support, which she treats as a safety net in case she needs them. Claire also comments that the longer she teaches, the more nuances she observes in the need to acknowledge children's unique identities and the need not to disrupt minority ethnic children's desire to fit in with the class.

Michael is also not reliant on external specialist support, understanding that in Lakeshire 'the draw on them is huge but they only have a set amount of time'. He believes that it is the Head teacher's role to decide whether specific children need additional support, based on how well they are already supported by the class teacher. Additionally, Michael tries to give extra push and attention to the high achievers too, rejecting deficit views in his practice. Some of his pupils receive extra support in their writing skills, and the Traveller child sometimes works with a Traveller teacher, but this is inconsistent due to the child's interrupted learning. Michael

says he relies on using his professional judgement to continually assess the children's needs and work accordingly.

Conceptualisation of key terms

Claire does not recognise the terms **multicultural education**, nor **antiracist education**. She explains that they are not something she sees at school or uses in the classroom, although upon reflection, she notes that maybe she should be. Thinking on her feet, she suggests that when reading stories and looking at pictures that feature multicultural influences, such as characters, dress, food or customs from other cultures, she could actually be pointing these out to her class and naming them as culturally different. She wonders if it is appropriate to call this kind of practice multicultural education, if it is simply 'looking at people's cultures'. She is not so sure, especially if it touches on aspects of other nation's cultures that Scots are already familiar with. For example, because Indian food is so popular in Scotland, can you still consider it a marker of 'a different culture' and present as such to young children?

Claire seems to be able to problematize the concept of multicultural education, even though she is not familiar with it. She finds it more difficult to try to define racism and antiracist education. Her struggle is seen in the following quote:

Racism is more... I suppose it's different cultures, because with cultures you get different... with different multicultures comes racism, because people are... your culture is different. Well cultures are different, so then you're going to have different colours of skin, different values, different, em, daily routines, so then, that can be..... Is that right? Because those people are different, then people who don't accept those differences are showing... racists... you know... It could be a lack of knowledge of it... a lack of... (Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

An unease with terminology is clearly visible, and Claire is quick to move on to describing the effects of educating children about difference, stressing the need to treat it as something ordinary:

But I think if early on, in primary, if they are exposed to different cultures and just, you know, just reading lots of stories, showing them lots of different things, then it will just become a part of their life. (Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

Michael is happy to give it a go at defining some key terms, as he says he is familiar with them: **Multicultural education** ‘means lots of children from different backgrounds and different beliefs and em, they are all working together. And **antiracist** would be... the opposite of racist! [laughs]’. He goes on to say:

I’ve heard all of these terms, and we talk about them in staff meetings, and I’ve looked at the policies, but we’ve looked in the policies a wee while ago. But... I don’t know if it’s right or wrong, but for me personally, as a teacher, I just take it that that’s normal practice. And I don’t really go into the nitty-gritty of what the policies are and what they say, because I’m told that I would treat the child the same way. On the merits that they deserve, and well, not even on the merits they deserve, but as a child in my class, I would treat them the same way. Regardless of their race or their beliefs or their language or their background. I don’t know if that answers your question. (Michael, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

This suggests that Michael’s perspective on practice is responsive to the makeup of his class. However, there is a number of initiatives in the classrooms built on the United Nations’ Convention on the Rights of the Child and UNICEF’s Rights Respecting Schools Award program, which extend to teaching all children about cultural diversity, racism and discrimination. They will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

8.5.2 Structural boundaries (directions, barriers, limits, opportunities)

The way that the school adapted their planning within the Curriculum for Excellence and around the Rights Respecting Schools Award created many spaces for addressing ethnic diversity and some for addressing racial discrimination, which will now be presented.

To begin with, it is worth stressing that most of Orchardbrae’s successful practice is anchored in whole school approaches, championed by the Head teacher’s belief that embedding positive values into the school system triumphs over ‘promoting diversity’. As Julia explains:

I don’t think you can ever say I’m satisfied, because the moment you say you’re satisfied, then you’ve stopped. And I think it’s everybody’s ball. So I don’t want to get to point where I’m promoting diversity as... you highlight diversity, so you

highlight diversity and it looks diverse. I think my aim for it is diversity just to be part of who we are. I think of schools that have Diversity Days and it's almost like you feel things out, and I don't... It just doesn't sit well with me. I think you're always working that the children you send out to the world are caring, understanding children. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

And so the school sets up its Golden time as a positive, 'earn your time' enterprise, as opposed to 'losing' minutes for misbehaviour. Class teachers are also the people who lead Golden Time activities by using and sharing their own talents with the children, who get to choose what they want to do. Currently there are 5 Golden Time groups to choose from: football (led by Michael), dance and drama, technology, knitting and sewing and finally outdoor games.

Sharing skills is also mentioned as a base from which teachers can talk with the children about the unique skills people bring with them when they migrate, leading to discussions about the history of migration to Scotland but also from Scotland in the past and opening the idea for children of being able to live abroad in the future. How much teachers do that depends entirely on them though, as they are free to choose any skill or topic they want to cover. Michael notes that this links back to the positively flexible nature of the Curriculum of Excellence which gives teachers the freedom to try things out. At the same time, Michael reveals that including topics explicitly about racial equality, ethnicity and multiculturalism would be more likely to be covered by him if they were timetabled. He sees the reason for this in his perceived lack of knowledge, saying that 'you don't want to give yourself additional work if you don't have to', and goes on to explain: 'I mean, if it was my project, I would do it, because I would know it was coming up. If it's not coming up, then I'm not thinking about it.' His practices include quite a few initiatives which I would call multicultural; however, the critical part is missing and Michael does not explicitly cover racist discrimination, not seeing much racism around him at the school.

Julia believes that racism and discrimination sometimes find their way into the school because children bring with them 'things that they heard at home'. She calls it an 'issue relating to parental attitudes' and is very quick to offer a whole array of whole school actions to counter such processes of transmission of discriminatory social attitudes. Julia calls this explicitly an 'education programme that runs with that in mind' and stresses the importance of pro-active,

bold, concentrated action, aimed at quashing such attitudes and occurrences of prejudice at the school. Therefore in Orchardbrae, though the RME programme, the Citizenship programme and her own assembly programme, the whole school is able to tackle racism and other discriminatory attitudes directly. As Julia explains:

If you've got all that underpinned before you have to do immediate reaction to it [prejudice], it's not an issue. I mean, every so often, issues rise, and you have to, we do have to deal with it. But I think if you do a good job in the first place, they will arise less. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

The reality of critical multiculturalism in practice – whole school approaches

Assemblies are one of the sites where direction from the Head teacher can be translated into opportunities in classroom practice. Recognition of success is a big theme across the school, and so all class teachers nominate children for weekly awards for various aspects of their learning, to create and maintain 'a positive ethos' in the school, as Julia explains. The Head teacher claims to focus on equal recognition for boys and girls, saying that the class teachers 'tend to pick girls'. Aspects of children's identity other than gender are not singled out on this occasion.

However, assemblies also act as a planning tool, where the Head teacher steers her teachers to 'where they want to go next as a school'. This is based on two distinct areas for action: one being current events and celebrations featured on the calendar, and the other coming from the Rights Respecting Schools program. The first, calendar-based approach, involves capitalising on set events, for example religious or cultural festivals. When religiously and culturally significant events approach, the school includes them in their planning. Examples given included discussing Christian Saints' days, Eid and the Chinese New Year. Both class teachers were able to present some examples of that kind of work which was not just tokenistic. This is described below.

Michael took the responsibility to prepare an assembly on China and Chinese New Year, which also involved a 'mini-project' done in class, on his own initiative. He says he 'wasn't supposed to be doing China' as it was not featured in the curriculum, but he did not want to

repeat an assembly and a project from last year and therefore suggested this. His classroom was full of vibrant displays from this project, which still dominated the room and made it very colourful and happy.

Teaching Religious and Moral Education can be done in a variety of ways in the classrooms. Although RME is described by Julia as ‘something that has to be taught’, it is seen as not necessarily all about the Christian perspective, but a naturally fitting site for creating understanding of difference and preventing stereotypes and prejudices from forming. Notably, Claire did not mention any tokenistic celebration of religious festivals as part of her multiculturally oriented practice, neither was she vocal about activities which could be seen as ‘promoting’ Christianity, despite admitting at the end that her faith is important to her.

Michael reports that he did an RME project with his class on people’s religious beliefs, tying it in with two Articles from the UNCRC (Article 29 and 30⁷), which he summarises as ‘the right to own belief and own culture’. Evidence for this is very clearly displayed in the class: children created their own Charter on Religious Beliefs. The result is a child-friendly, not text-heavy, set of rights that the children can understand. This was the basis for a whole-class project which included discussing why and how people celebrate Christmas or Eid, and in Michael’s opinion it helped the children in his class understand one another’s backgrounds and practices. As a result, the majority children would help the Muslim pupils celebrate Eid in class, too, and help get them excited for a major religious holiday which is not Christmas and

⁷ Article 29 (Goals of education): Children’s education should develop each child’s personality, talents and abilities to the fullest. It should encourage children to respect others, human rights and their own and other cultures. It should also help them learn to live peacefully, protect the environment and respect other people. Children have a particular responsibility to respect the rights of their parents, and education should aim to develop respect for the values and culture of their parents. The Convention does not address such issues as school uniforms, dress codes, the singing of the national anthem or prayer in schools. It is up to governments and school officials in each country to determine whether, in the context of their society and existing laws, such matters infringe upon other rights protected by the Convention.

Article 30 (Children of minorities/indigenous groups): Minority or indigenous children have the right to learn about and practice their own culture, language and religion. The right to practice one’s own culture, language and religion applies to everyone; the Convention here highlights this right in instances where the practices are not shared by the majority of people in the country.

may fall during the school term. As Michael points out: ‘in the end, some of them thought ‘aww’, they were expecting to be off as well I think!’

Michael is also reflexive about the interconnectedness of religion and culture. He believes that children tend to see them as one, but goes on to say:

I am trying to think is that how I see it as well? Maybe, subconsciously that is how I see it. I know, I know it’s not, but you almost think, well, they are from a different... background, from a different culture, they are Muslim, so this is what they believe... (Michael, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

The Rights Respecting approach is embodied throughout the school, visible in the assemblies and in classroom practice. Julia discusses significant news weekly with all children and also likes to take on comparative perspectives on how children’s rights are enjoyed (or not) internationally. For example, recently she led a 4 week topic on ‘Where Children Sleep’, so that the pupils could relate their lives to the lives of others from a rights-based viewpoint. In this instance it is difficult to say how critical such assembly discussions are, as they may either serve as the introduction to new, different perspectives on the world, expanding children’s worldviews and their global awareness of themselves as citizens of the world, or act as a reminder of the privileged position of Scottish children in the world, which could be much less critical and potentially risk a ‘charity’ worldview being promoted. However, the Rights Respecting approach visible in the practices of both Michael and Claire suggests it is appropriately gauged to the children’s young ages.

Another structural direction, coming from the Head teacher, is that the school has divided its curricular planning into 4 thematic terms, namely: a science term, a history term, a Scottish term and finally a global awareness term. The aim of this is that teachers can ‘pick up and roll something concrete’, again, a coordinated school approach, as opposed to trying to rely on ad-hoc, uncritical ideas. All children are therefore involved in learning about all the above aspects of their lives in this world, with multicultural aspects to permeate all four, not just the last topic.

Children's attention is intentionally brought to 'difficult' contemporary issues, such as sectarianism and prejudice in Scottish football. Children are allowed to wear football colours on 'no uniform days', exactly in order to learn how to talk through an argument if it surfaces. However, Julia notes that they haven't had any difficulties at all, thinking that if schools do not expect aggression and make it out to be a big deal, and if the children learn that divisions are socially made and not inherent to groups of people, they quickly accept that as a fact. History was mentioned as the place that lends itself naturally to those kinds of critical and important discussions around people's identities.

The school takes the same approach to tackling racism and homophobia. These topics are covered openly in the belief that when 'you give the kids a platform, then the kids can talk about it without the embarrassment factor'. However, Julia and Claire acknowledge that discussing Traveller children identity openly is impossible to do, because the Traveller families dislike talking about being Travellers. The school has for now decided not to push those boundaries, although they all feel uncomfortable about not knowing for sure if all the Traveller children at Orchardbrae feel truly included, especially those whose education is most interrupted and who find it most difficult to make friendships. In a school which values inclusion so much, this is proving challenging for the class teachers. Therefore they employ topics such as freedom of speech, individual rights or the place of Lakeshire, their locality, in the global community and as a global community. Critical literacy was also mentioned by the Head teacher as something that the upper school is practising.

There is evidence to suggest that many of the whole school approaches are integrated into the classroom practices. Differences between the two teachers' practice is to be expected, however Claire seems to show a little more of an activist mind in her choice of resources, for example, despite both teachers having difficulty with being explicitly antiracist.

Teacher-led classroom practices and the Curriculum for Excellence

Claire talks about the ways in which she supported minority ethnic children in the past as if it was effortless and natural. She describes engaging her Polish and Pakistani pupils in discussing

the countries of their origin with the whole class, using them, their backgrounds and their families as resource and an asset. So for example, all children learned that people in groups do not always 'come from the same place' and had a chance to learn about what makes different countries unique, including Scotland. The teacher would find Urdu and Polish language books in addition to asking the families to share some of their home resources, which were then used in class as well as making them available in the library. She also made sure that books represented a variety of ethnicities in general.

Claire remarks that it is really easy to use children as cultural assets when they are very young, although even at this age some children can be sensitive to being made to seem different. Michael agrees that issues of difference are actually easier to take up with the very young children. For example, discussing children's skin colour, he thinks could be done 'with the small ones, because they would see that as something to explore. It doesn't really matter, who you are or where you're from, they just accept you: oh you're here, you're in my Primary, you're going to play with me, great. As long as you are not pushing and shoving me, that's great'. He has not taken up the topic of skin colour in his practice, though.

In Claire's experience, she can ensure that minority ethnic children feel valued and included, however she points out that Traveller children find it harder to 'fit in' than anybody else and that sometimes she just has to 'let them be'. At the same time, all children learn about cultural diversity by studying their place and perspectives in the globalised world, which is part of the school's focus on global awareness as a topic in term 4 of each year. Claire's practice does not stick firmly to only realising multicultural content at pre-prescribed times. She uses her own initiative to introduce activities, as described above. She also capitalises on the fact that with such young children, opportunities for discussion and sharing or reading stories are endless, every day she has a chance to talk about 'something that would maybe just come up anyway'.

In the Head teacher's view, teachers are supported by the system in prioritising nurture, in that the Curriculum for Excellence reflects the value of inclusive education that she holds so dear. Julia is very happy to see that Health and Wellbeing is given a prominent position within this curriculum, interpreting this position as on par with the curricular focus on Language and

Maths. In Julia's eyes, Health and Wellbeing 'is actually the first subject, because if you don't get the Health and Wellbeing, and that's the aspects of citizenship, social health, emotional health, right, they you can forget about the rest – they won't ever fit in to place'. Julia very strongly believes that teachers must care for their children as if they were their own, stressing that: 'that's all I ever wanted for my children. So that's all I ever did and that's what I ask my teachers to do'.

Julia is however cautious about generalising beyond her school as she believes that overall, the Curriculum is only guidance and ultimately gets reinterpreted by Head teachers and by class teachers, to take different shapes, according to those who use it. For its principles, however interpreted, to be realised in practice, she is convinced that 'there has to be a sense of 'we are in it together', not just say the word 'we' and whatever, but there has to be a sense of a shared belief. I'm an absolute firm believer that if we are to get anything done, we have to do it together.'

Both class teachers plan to fit content into projects. For example, when studying 'how to be a good citizen' or how to take care of one's emotional wellbeing, Claire is consciously weaving multicultural practices into the Citizenship and Health and Wellbeing aspects of the curriculum, in order to meet all children's needs. Religious and Moral Education is also again mentioned as a good site for presenting world religions to children and explaining the religious diversity present in the school. Personal and Social Development and Circle Time also afford many opportunities, but Claire believes that while it is easy to find opportunities, systematic planning is necessary for teaching antiracism, especially as the children grow older. Referring to the recent instances of racist bullying of a Traveller child in upper school, she says:

But it has to be taught as well because... There's actually been an issue in the school. We have a Traveller child who doesn't want to come in to school, at all. Because of the children calling her names. Hindu. Because her skin is a little bit of a different colour. So that's a lack of education in that part, in those children, you know, she's not [Hindu]. You have to, I think, teach, you do have to teach, the children, to respect. You'd have to still think some children have respect for other children, who are different. You know, I'd like you to take it for granted with the little ones, when naturally they just include them all. But as they go up the school I think they have to really be taught, these things, and maybe be shown what happens in the world. You

know, what people can do, to... really be horrible, they really have to be shown that...
(Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

On one hand, the realisation that antiracism and respect for difference cannot be just picked up by children seems to be linked to racist bullying which happened at the school. On the other hand, Claire does not excuse racist bullying simply by the fact that children get older. She is conscious of the fact that older primary aged children tend to follow the crowd, but prefers to acknowledge that discrimination is present in the society and teachers need to create spaces for taking it up with the children. She concentrates on helping children realise that all actions have their consequences and that there are plenty of terrible consequences of lack of respect, hate and prejudice in the world just now, as well as in its history. As she explains, ‘with primary aged children... I always think you have to be honest with children and relate to what’s happening in the world’. And because even Primary 2 children hear the news, even if there are things ‘that can frighten them’, for example terrorism, it is appropriate, in Claire’s view, to begin considering different sides of all stories. Her views fit very well with the school’s ethos and the values presented by the Head teacher. As Claire puts it:

I think you have to embed [antidiscrimination] in the curriculum. You have to do it, because if children don’t feel valued, and if you don’t understand these issues, then the classroom is not going to be an inclusive, happy place. I think you have to get that bit right, I think, first. And if any little issue comes up, anything related to, em, diversity or inclusion, or like that, you have to deal with it as it happens, and then like the CfE, just embed it in your curriculum. (Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

Claire stresses the need to talk with young children about all aspects of difference and believes that talking about feelings, relating issues to children’s personal lives, and finally using issue-based stories, are all approaches she uses in practice. Critical literacy therefore makes its way to her classroom. All this also allows the teacher to deal with arguments that parents may be involved in, which, in a village school, are in her view known to the whole community, not excluding the children. This way Claire makes links between the local and more global conflict and discrimination issues, always relating them back to her pupils’ lives as part of something bigger.

Michael also wonders why older children, in the upper primary school and beyond, tend to get so sensitive about difference and fear standing out. He thinks this may be because ‘as we get older, we become insecure’. Discriminating against others then may be ‘a way of deflecting attention from what’s different in you. You’re trying to pick on someone else... hoping that people won’t notice that you’re different in some ways.’ In thinking about this more, Michael returns to the need to care and nurture the whole person at school, to build their sense of self-worth and confidence. He sees this as a fundamental aim of his role as a teacher in combatting racism:

I think at the root of why people... can be racist is because they are insecure. Maybe, for me, until that problem is removed, it doesn’t really matter what you’re teaching about racism, unless you can get rid of that insecurity... You know, when you get to high school, you don’t want anyone looking at how you’re different, so you kind of try and shift all... regardless of what it is, you’re just trying to pick on someone else so nobody sees what you’re like. And I think that’s an insecurity. So if you’re going to get rid of it [racism], you’ve got to get rid of that insecurity. (Michael, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

Michael also addresses those aspects of children’s personal, social and emotional development through project work. He describes a Health-based project he did on people’s social identity, family backgrounds and stereotypical human characteristics. So for example, he asked the children to draw pictures of ‘a clever person, and someone who’s not very clever, a rich person, a poor person, there was loads of people, different things. And then you looked at what they did.’ This allowed the class to explore stereotypes relating to their own cultural experience. Michael notes that it was not possible to push Primary 3 children much further beyond that, but acknowledges that this could be extended in the future or with older children.

Another example from Claire’s recent work includes a longer term project on industry and job markets in Primary 4. It covered both skilled manual workers losing their jobs throughout the recession, and Polish migrant workers getting paid less than Scottish workers for doing similar jobs. Various aspects of economic migration to Scotland were covered in discussion with the whole P4 class, which was pre-planned and adapted to what the children brought into it. Claire did not say this was all easy, she ‘had to debate with some children who weren’t thinking it was fair’ for Polish people to come to work in Scotland, but she believes that the outcome of

the project was that children agreed that it was fair after all: ‘if they are wanting to work, then they have the right to work’.

Finally, Claire stresses that she is able to use the school’s new Health and Wellbeing resources across the curriculum, for example within Health, Citizenship and Personal and Social Education projects. Moreover, the resources which address equality issues are then embedded into the school wide planning and projects, and end up being shared and used across classrooms, demonstrating a whole school approach to mainstreaming inclusion and equality.

Claire’s practices seem to stem from her own commitment, but are firmly embedded in the inclusive ethos and the clear institutional drive towards a Rights Respecting School. Claire is explicit in stating that it is her role and responsibility to teach about cultural diversity and racism, although she prefers to use the language of inclusion and respect, only occasionally mentioning discrimination or racism. She claims that she would feel comfortable in teaching all these issues with all ages. The following quote helps illustrate her disposition:

I think it’s the teachers’ responsibility. Because you have the children, so you have to be aware of this, because when they go out in that world, to high school, they are going to meet different people, they are going to... you know, the whole world is multicultural... you have Edinburgh, and there’s people from different places and cultures everywhere. And I think if they don’t have the respect for people now... I think you have to do it early on, with the little ones. Because then you wonder – if you’re not doing it when they are young, is that maybe why in P6, they are calling people names, and they haven’t picked it up that it is serious, because they wouldn’t like if it happened to them if they went to Poland. (Claire, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

However, it is difficult to say whether Claire’s practices would look similar in a different school. There is more evidence to suggest that the whole school approaches are the main driver, having hit the fertile ground of a young teacher committed to inclusion, who is developing her practical skills without much theoretical awareness of critical multiculturalism.

Michael’s perspectives are not too dissimilar as he seems to be committed to inclusion and developing his skills under the Head teacher’s guidance. He was very interested to hear from me, at the end of our conversations, about my own perspectives on the need for more multicultural and antiracist education in Scottish schools. He concluded, though, that the

general consensus between parents and educational policymakers is that exam results and children's attainment in Maths and Language matter the most in education. Critical multiculturalism is not something that the majority of parents are interested in.

8.5.3 Policy to practice translation

Claire does not regard equality-related policies as supportive and useful for her practice. She is not familiar with national legislation or any local authority policies and relies on her Head teacher in practical ways, in instances where she feels she would need help to address racism in her classroom. At the same time, as she believes her practices are robust and embedded within the curriculum, she does not feel it is her responsibility to be more closely involved with policy. For example, she is aware of the need to report racist incidents and the fact that this is taken seriously by the authority, but is not sure what happens after a report leaves the school. Interestingly, Michael says he remembers input about reporting racist incidents from his Initial Teacher Education time, but he mostly remembers being baffled as to why racist bullying should be treated 'more seriously' than any other types of bullying. He is convinced that all bullying and discrimination should be dealt with in the same way. Issues of power and privilege, both structural and institutional, are left invisible.

Michael takes a similar stance on the usefulness of authority and school-level policies on 'race' equality. He says:

I'm aware that there's policies, but I haven't gone to the policy folder recently and thought: Oh, am I doing that, am I doing that, have I covered this multicultural kind of learning? Because I suppose I'm thinking: well, they are all learning, and it doesn't matter who the child is and where they are from, we're all learning together. (Michael, class teacher, Orchardbrae)

Michael's words suggest a view that 'race' equality is only to serve minority ethnic children. He states that the policies are physically present in his classroom, but confesses they are not being read. Even though they are considered important ('because they tell us what to do') and are being reviewed on Inset Days to make sure they are up to date, ultimately it is the Head teacher who class teachers would go to and together decide what is needed to be done in

practice. Clearly, the Head holds the key role in policy translation at Orchardbrae and the class teachers accept this as good practice and follow her lead. Michael appreciates the effort that must go into creating authority-level policies but says that generally ‘they are not very useful, because teachers don’t have the time to read them, and you end up not drawing much from them. Curriculum is one thing, because you are using it within the class.’

The only policy Claire has ever looked at is one that the school has drafted ‘recently’ for Traveller children. She is not sure if there are any other policies at the school level about ‘race’ equality and is not familiar with anything of this kind. The value ascribed to policy documents is therefore very low, unless real-life, practical elements form the core of their guidance for teachers, such as the curricular expectations on everyday teacher practice. Finally, Michael suggest that the only reason why local authorities write so many policies is to show they comply with legislation in case of any litigation; to be able to claim that practices are based on policy in case it transpires that some discrimination occurred.

The Head teacher explains that she takes all policies for discussion with her staff as they are introduced to the school or in need of updating. This would be done at staff meetings, during timetabled sessions for policy development. At the time of research, the Equality Act 2010, as well as Getting It Right for Every Child (GIRFEC), were just being phased in to schools. They had not received very much attention yet as the local authority guidance for schools was in the process being developed. The original ‘race’ equality policy in the school, at the time nearly 10 years old, was simply not acknowledged by the class teachers, who had not worked in Orchardbrae for that long.

The position of an Equalities Coordinator is only titular at the school, as Julia puts it: ‘If it’s anybody, it’s me’. However, the Head teacher pushes the school towards mainstreaming ‘race’ equality in practice. What happens in individual classrooms is ultimately up to the class teachers, yet the Head’s leadership is clear, her oversight strong, extending to planning and evaluation in tandem with class teachers and as a whole school. The focus of teachers’ CPD is also suggested by the Head teacher, with the ultimate topic choice given to the teachers from a pre-approved, shorter list, corresponding with the school’s improvement goals.

Julia recognises that any and all processes, which she puts in place to enact the policies, can only be realised as intended when class teachers are ‘fully on board’. This relates to all aspects of translating school policy into practice. One example worth describing in detail is of how the school dealt with racist bullying in one classroom. Julia describes a situation, where a Traveller child was at a receiving end of name-calling pertaining to her background, her skin colour and her religious identity. All were separate remarks, passed onto her by the class teacher, which she had then recorded on the authority’s racist incident form, discussed with the Traveller Education support specialist, and passed on to the authority’s Equalities Officer⁸. What happened next was that together, all those people involved decided to avoid assigning blame on anybody, but to target the prejudice and the ignorance as a whole school. As Julia puts it:

Basically, we’ve got an agreement in the school on an education programme for the children – cause I think if we go for a blame thing here, they are going to feel bad, and they are going to blame somebody else, because blame has that chain effect, doesn’t it. But if we go for a ‘we don’t understand, we didn’t understand what we said’, that’s our job to teach people who don’t understand things. So we’re going to see what we can do about a teaching programme for the kids to bring it round. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

However, the issue of blaming people for racist remarks extends, in Julia’s view, to both the children and the teachers. Julia feels that this is one definite area that Scottish education in general suffers from: the fact that teachers’ ‘life experiences’ are limited to what they already know, culturally and socially narrow, with distinctly middle class values, which their pupils in schools like Orchardbrae do not share. Julia considers most of her teachers ‘sheltered’ from the nature of complex, multidimensional, working class, minority ethnic children’s lives.

This has a few consequences. Firstly, Julia believes that such teachers tend to understand occurrences of racist prejudice as their personal failure and go on to blame themselves for it.

⁸ Title has been changed to protect anonymity

This is why she thinks her guidance for teachers in their actions is so important, because it can lead to teacher self-reflection and changes in practice. As she puts it:

I'm only hoping the class teachers will come as fully on board as I would like them to, because the trouble with class teachers is that they can tend to take it personally, they say 'Oh well I feel really bad', but it's not about them, it's about the child. But the teachers instantly go 'it's my... [fault]'. Probably, yeah, as a teacher, I mean I would take the blame. But on the other hand, I would need to get over myself, because it's not me who's off school and miserable. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

Secondly, the 'sheltered' middle class teacher backgrounds can distance the teachers so much from their pupils that they find it very difficult to relate to the pupils' lives, and again, end up interpreting occurrences of prejudice in school only through their own social lens. Even worse, racism and discrimination against ethnic minorities can be invisible to such teachers (something that was visible in both Claire's and Michael's perceptions of racism in education). This may lead to teachers further distancing themselves from being able to adapt all education, including antiracist and multicultural education, to all children's needs.

8.6 Summary

Julia believes that to educate young children out of prejudice, teachers have to be reflexive and courageous, as opposed to worrying about prejudice becoming visible and simply taking a no tolerance approach. Her view is presented in the quote below:

Me: So do you think your teachers feel confident in issues regarding equalities...

Julia: I think, yeah, they feel confident, but there's still scope for value judgements among teachers. And I think one of the things about the teaching profession you have to bear in mind is the fact that they are from a very middle class background. So, very middle class, and sheltered. Because many teachers go to school, say 'I want to be a teacher', leave school, study to be a teacher in a very comfortable, middle class set up, maybe with an occasional late night at Uni, and then come back in and teach children. So, their life experience is not really very wide. And I think if those are your lifetime values, even though you've kind of read beyond the limits, you've got to gather against the fact, that your values are not everybody else's. And again, it's putting the child at the centre, it's looking at the child's values, and that what's right for them, you know. And you become, yes, the most important person, but only after the child.

Me: So I see in your role you want to direct teachers to be understanding of that...

Julia: Yeah, and with some it's easier than others. (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

This suggests a complexity at the intersection of teachers' professional and personal values. Although it has been widely accepted in the literature that the education system in itself is skewed towards and led by middle class values, this becomes clearly visible when scrutinising the practice of critically multicultural education. On the one hand, the school is led as a whole towards common, critical reality, responsive to children's needs but also proactively inclusive. On the other hand, individual class teachers are bound to interpret this reality through their own lenses, such as their professionalism, interests, dispositions and characteristics. And one common characteristic of both white, middle class, Scottish teachers in Orchardbrae seems to be that their reflexivity has started to develop but there is much more scope for critical engagement with multicultural and antiracist education for all children.

It could be said that Julia, as a Head teacher, models reflexivity to her staff. She is able to self-correct common and often misunderstood phrases, for example when she ends up seemingly advocating 'treating children the same', she corrects herself quickly to make sure she is understood to mean embodying the ethos of inclusive education. It is certainly very strong in the school, guiding teacher practice in many details. As Julia puts it:

If you treat children differently they are always going to be different. Whereas I think if you just look at them as children then you just treat them the same. And I don't mean the same as in universally and they all have the same done for them, but every child is an individual. So if you've got, as a good teacher, you teach the individual in your class.' (Julia, Head teacher, Orchardbrae)

There was no evidence to suggest that teachers have low expectations of minority ethnic children's abilities. Rather, children seem to be all supported in an inclusive way. The school tries to improve their approaches to tackling prejudice and racism, and seems to have some way to go. However, broader topics of religious intolerance, sectarianism, learning how to live with others in peace, are being put explicitly on the school agenda and in the forward planning, strongly guided by the Head teacher's priorities.

Elements of multicultural and antiracist education in Orchardbrae are embedded in the curriculum. Citizenship education is firmly rooted in the local and wider Scottish context, making it relatable to the children, before broadening the scope beyond Scotland, which is not currently strong. Health and Wellbeing is also a curricular area considered as one where meaningful content can be realised. Whether most of the two class teachers' practices are underpinned by critical multicultural values is hard to say, though. Being a Rights Respecting School legitimises their efforts and evidence of a lot of critical work around children's rights was seen at the school. This focus could be the springboard for including more explicitly antiracist content. The teachers seem to be willing to take on issues of power and injustice, but not yet from antiracist viewpoints, as their theoretical knowledge of prejudice based on human characteristics and systems of oppression is limited.

Chapter 9

Presentation of Findings: Case study 4. Meadowland Primary School, Lakeshire

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which teachers in Meadowland Primary, a non-denominational school in a rural area of Lakeshire, negotiate 'race' equality. I begin by describing the school's context, introducing research participants and outlining school policies relating to inclusion and equality. Presentation of findings follows three previously identified main themes, which are:

1. Teacher characteristics and dispositions
2. Structural boundaries
3. Translation of policy into practice

Finally, I summarise this school case study before moving on to Chapter 10, the discussion of findings across the nested cases.

9.2 Setting the context

Meadowland Primary is a rural, non-denominational school with a roll of around 120 pupils and 40 nursery places. The school is located in a village of mixed socio-economic status. The percentage of pupils registered for free school meals in 2010/11 was below the national average. Most of the classes are composite, grouping children of similar, but not one, age, as the village which the school serves is small.

The school has no living memory of minority ethnic pupils. In the previous year, one Asian Pakistani and one Polish child attended the nursery, but both families have since moved away. The Head teacher describes that year as a very positive experience, where the school, involving

the authority's EAL Service, supported them intensively 'in a very nurturing environment'. Within a year, their English was 'very good', the children settled, but the families were there only temporarily, having 'complicated lives', which the Head teacher could describe in every detail. Finally, she says that their departure was 'a shame, because I was thinking: good! We can start working on a multicultural school!' The Head teacher notes, however, that many Meadowland children have relatives living in other parts of the UK or abroad, a point she capitalises on and which will be returned to later.

There is a consensus between the staff that what affects the local children's education the most is the fact that many families in Meadowland 'have a very different concept of school' from the teachers. As it serves a small community, staff are very aware of parental attitudes, especially those described as having 'huge chips on their shoulders towards education and towards us as teachers'. As a result, many parents and pupils 'have no respect for us, the school, what we're doing here', which constitutes 'a huge learning barrier' for the children. Therefore, staff focus on creating a positive school ethos, teaching and modelling being respectful of each other.

9.3 Introducing research participants

Three class teachers and the Head teacher were interviewed. All three teachers worked in a composite Primary 5/6/7 class. Two of them, Natasha and Kelly, were job sharing (2 days per week plus a third day on alternate weeks), with Bridget employed full time.

Natasha is a 54 year old, Scottish female teacher. She describes her ethnicity as British. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for over 25 years, having been in Meadowland Primary for the last 16 years. She qualified as a teacher in Sand City. She also has some experience teaching in England.

Kelly is a 36 year old, Scottish female teacher. She describes her ethnicity as White British. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 10 years, mostly in Sand City. This is her second year in Meadowland. She qualified as a teacher in Sand City. Unfortunately,

having completed her probationary year as a supply teacher in a variety of schools, she decided to leave the profession before her career really even started. Disillusioned, she moved to Australia, where after working as a tour guide for a travel company, she ‘unintentionally’ started teaching again. She describes her experience of living and teaching in Australia as ‘reigniting her enthusiasm for teaching’ and very influential on her teacher identity.

Bridget is a 26 year old, Scottish female teacher. She describes her ethnicity as White Scottish. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 3 years, mainly as a supply teacher, and this is her first year in Meadowland Primary, where she is employed on a 1-year contract. She has no other experience of schools outside of Lakeshire. She qualified as a teacher in Sand City.

Rosalynn is a 55 year old, female Head teacher. She is from Scotland but did not answer the question about her ethnicity. She does not have a disability. She has been teaching for 35 years and has been at Meadowland Primary for the last 3 years. She qualified as a teacher in her home city in another part of Scotland. Rosalynn has worked in a number of schools, first across Scotland (including in Lakeshire) and then in England. She has also worked in Further Education in England, before moving back to Scotland to work in ‘central education management’ in a Scottish city for 15 years. One of her first teaching experiences was in a very multicultural, Catholic school in Scotland, where most of the pupils were children of international students and staff from a nearby university. She describes the families as very highly educated but not socially homogenous as they were ‘sometimes from very poor places’. She also has experience of teaching abroad, having worked in Greece, where she ‘got quite interested in how children learn English’. This resulted in her taking up a job in a Scottish school which had been receiving large numbers of newly arriving asylum seekers, teaching them English as a Second Language. Reflecting on this time, Rosalynn says many teaching practices were ‘probably wrong, but a really, really interesting experience.’ She admits that she has a ‘lingering interest particularly in children who have just arrived’ in Scotland.

9.4 Description of relevant school policies

The Head Teacher feels comfortable in the world of educational policy. This is most likely due to her previous role in educational management at a local authority level. She talks about policies with ease and engages with them as part of her leadership practice. Rosalynn was the only Head teacher in this research who chose and prepared all possible school and authority policies pertaining to various aspects of equality and meeting children's needs, in advance of the interview. Many of them were discussed in detail.

Rosalynn explains that at the school level there is no one 'policy literally on equality and diversity, but it's woven into' two main policy documents which are being used by the school, as well as part of the rationale behind a consultation with parents which she had recently done, and which resulted in a parental vision for the school being drafted. I will now describe those three documents and the process of their creation, as they were all introduced recently by Rosalynn.

The first and most important policy for the school addresses the interconnection between teacher-pupil relationships and children's learning and behaviour. It was created as a result of 'a big journey' by all staff, led by the Head teacher who wants to bring about change in the school but finds a lot of resistance. At the time of this research, the policy was only 3 months old. It is aimed at class teachers in the hope that they stop 'treating everyone the same', living a 'culture where children need to fit the system, rather than the system works to support the children'. Rosalynn explains further that by engaging her staff in the process of creating this policy, she is 'really trying to say to them, that if we don't treat children with respect and appreciation, and try to tune in a little bit to the kind of issues and concerns in their lives, we're not going to get the kind of behaviour and learning that we might be wanting'.

This strong focus on relationships requires teachers to put children's needs first, no matter who they are and what their background is. As Rosalynn explains: 'although we are a fairly monocultural community, we have a breadth of needs, perspectives, values, influences, expectation, you know, all of that is completely diverse'. By prioritising this policy as the basis

from which her teachers should be working, she believes she is starting to see changes from ‘a teacher’s school to a children’s school, but it’s been a long, sort of quite painful process’. She believes it is especially difficult for those staff members who have been at Meadowland for a very long time and have worked in particular ways for many years. Rosalyn remarks that in the class she chose for me to engage with, I wouldn’t have seen any of this resistance, as Kelly and Bridget are relatively new to the school and the third teacher, Natasha, ‘has been here for a long time, but she’s always been very forward-thinking, and keeps up to date, and is a citizen, you know, she is interested in the society and interested in these types of issues’. The picture of practices reported in this chapter cannot therefore be attributed as representative of the whole school, but rather as an example of the direction the school needs to take.

This relationships-focused policy delineates the school’s values, its positive ethos, the need to respect everyone in the community, value difference and be inclusive. It talks of a need for a whole-school approach to being inclusive, sensitive to children’s emotional needs, nurturing their wellbeing, championing restorative justice and self-regulation of learning and behaviour. Supporting ‘positive behaviour choices’ is exactly what it aims to do, and so the school’s sanctions for breaking class rules are also built on children’s ability to reflect on their actions, which are recognised as sometimes impulsive. The policy also lists actions that the school will take in instances of bullying, declaring that they wish to undertake work towards the Rights Respecting Schools Award, in order to help children recognise their own and others’ rights and responsibilities connected with discrimination.

Finally, this policy provides very practical instructions for teachers and children on how to respond to challenges in class using restorative practices, which everybody in the school will consistently use. These ‘scripts’ or keywords are to trigger common understanding of how people can signal and deal with difficulties which arise for them in class. It is worth noting that they were developed in partnership with two other local primary schools and are critical, rational and use a language which does not ‘baby’ children but also will not become a cliché. A summary of this policy and its 3 main scripts, along with an outline of basic information about the school day, the staff, first aid and Eco School procedures, finds its way to each

classroom in the form of a large format, laminated summary sheet taped onto the teacher's desk.

The second major school policy, a year and a half-old, addresses the issue of meeting children's needs. Again, anchored in the values of inclusive education, it covers the roles of all school and specialist support staff in identifying and addressing individual pupils' needs. The bulk of the document consists of various concern, observation and assessment forms, including a questionnaire for parents, school-specific but also relating to national ASL policies and procedures. It looks like a practical toolbox for teachers' use.

The final school document to be described here is a result of a consultation with parents. It lists values and teacher qualities which the parents would like to see visible in the school. They are organised under the following headings:

- What do we want children to learn to participate as citizens in the 21st century?
- What makes a good school?
- What makes a good teacher?
- What makes good learning?
- What makes a good head teacher?

This consultation was discussed with all teachers, as yet another of the Head teacher's initiatives to reorganise the old, set ways of seeing teaching and education in Meadowland Primary.

9.5 Presentation of findings

9.5.1 Teachers' characteristics and dispositions

Prior knowledge and teachers' personal attitudes to diversity

Bridget has not had much personal experience with multiculturalism to date. She considers her class 'not that diverse in terms of different cultures and races', as all her pupils are 'white and Scottish', but she acknowledges that the children are diverse in terms of their social backgrounds. Social class inequality is also something she remembers from her own time at school. She describes the Meadowland community as mostly middle class but her pupils as 'still very mixed', with a proviso that no child is 'clearly very deprived'. She thinks all her pupils get similar chances to other children in the class.

Kelly also understands the diversity of her class in terms of social class, stating that the range of children's abilities, family backgrounds and different emotional needs is 'huge'. She believes that children tend to stay in cliques, largely formed when they were babies, by their parents' social choices, and therefore aims to open up relationships between all pupils. Kelly considers the issue of all-too-common lack of respect for people and for education as 'a huge learning barrier' for many in the class and links it with parental drug and alcohol abuse, present in some pupils' homes.

Natasha's view on diversity in the class is similar, saying that 'sometimes I feel we are trying to impose or teach a completely foreign culture, to what the children are used to at home – the listening, the respect...' She also adds that the age and gender diversity, with more boys than girls, strongly affect daily classroom practices. Children's expectations, motivation, maturity and life/social skills can be very different.

Bridget has very little experience teaching children 'from different racial backgrounds', having only ever had direct contact as a supply teacher with one Polish and one Venezuelan child. She is aware, however, there are now more children for whom English is not their first

language in many schools. She found the two minority ethnic children she taught very sociable, keen to fit in and learn English, which she attributes to their personality traits. Other children in class would help them and ‘not see them as anybody different’.

Kelly has taught many minority ethnic and bilingual children in Sand City. They were Eastern European, many Polish children, but also Scottish Asian children and many other bicultural, bilingual children from mixed families. She believes all children were settling well ‘after a while’, although she also observes that Polish children used to seek out other Polish speakers. She also remembers that local children would be very welcoming of children with EAL, and recalls an old class where one Polish boy taught the rest ‘a phrase a day’, which they all practised and enjoyed.

Kelly was keen to share a personal memory from her own childhood. She remembers an Afro-Caribbean girl she was friends with for the first two or three years of primary school. Although she claims she does not have many memories, she says: ‘I remember the colour of her skin, so vividly, and her nostrils and you know, her hair. To me that was probably the first coloured person I have ever seen, living on a farm in Lakeshire, shut off from what the real world is like’. In high school, she had some more ethnically diverse, for example Scottish Asian, friends. She thinks this visibility of difference to white children living in small villages of Lakeshire has not changed:

For some children, Meadowland is their life. So for them... Well actually there’s a Pakistani family owned shop here, and a Chinese restaurant has just opened, so that’s probably the only people they would have ever seen with a different colour of skin. I live in [the next village over] and there are glimpses of mixed race relationships and children in the school there. Meadowland seems to be a bit unusual in that in school we don’t have anybody. (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

Natasha associates social justice with ‘people’s needs being met’ and understand diversity as multidimensional and complex. She is also uneasy about claiming that treating people equally and treating people the same mean totally different things: ‘I can’t say everyone being treated equally, because that’s not meeting everybody’s needs. Fairness means according to people’s needs. Justice is people being treated right, but what I think is right is not universal. To me,

that's everybody's rights being respected, and people shouldn't be treated unfairly because of disability or race or faith'. She also notices income injustice.

Conceptualisation of key terms

Bridget has come across the terms multicultural and antiracist education during her Initial Teacher Education, but finds it difficult to talk about them. She understands **antiracist education** as 'tackling racist issues' which she interprets as 'quite defined'. **Multiculturalism** to her relates to wider aspects of diversity in a society, including 'race', religion and social background. Bridget understands justice as equal opportunities, and inclusion as meeting children's additional support needs.

Kelly is also aware of the terms, but not from her teacher education days. Multicultural and antiracist education are something she comes across in her every-day, wide-ranging reading habits and interest in reading educational materials:

I quite often go on to the Learning Teaching Scotland website, for various reasons, and I know that there are articles about it. It's just one of these things you are aware of, because it's part of our job. And yeah, I'm aware of Scotland, all the different people who are making up Scotland now. So I suppose... I honestly don't know why I know about it, I haven't done any specific CPD training. But it's just one of those things that come up. If a new Government document would come out, then Head teachers highlight them to their staff and you are told to read them... Whether you do or not is a different matter! Em, I think it's just through a kind of... general... soaking in of information from various places you're reading... From the Times educational supplement, reading about what other schools are doing in different places, to get ideas for your practice. (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

Kelly raises some important issues about teacher professionalism, pointing out the need to be actively involved in own development as a teacher.

Multicultural education for Kelly is simply a part of the Curriculum, and she is quick to start listing the various things the composite class teachers regularly do, with activities like:

Looking at different countries, cultures, religions; important figures from different countries, in RME who founded important religions but also who is important currently in a country, whether it's the leader or a significant figure. It could be

learning different styles of cookery from other countries or songs or dances. Quite a lot of the Curriculum for Excellence is designing and creating your own dances. Natasha is presently doing something on Scottish dances because of the Scottish Opera project. But multicultural education I guess is also trying to take in all of the different children that you have at that particular point, to make sure you are celebrating who they are, celebrating where they came from, allowing them to share their cultural background with others, to give the rest of the class a better understanding. (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

Natasha's understanding of **multicultural education** is similar, meaning 'raising awareness and teaching children about different cultures'. She also thinks it is difficult in schools like Meadowland to make it relevant for the children, whether they talk about cultures within Scotland or not. She would prefer to be able to use real people's experiences, and even though she remarks that 'at the same time, you don't want to draw attention to people', she was able to demonstrate being resourceful and using real life opportunities, which will be described later.

Multicultural education in this sense is something that happens often in the Primary 5/6/7, mainstreamed through the curriculum and the use of resources in class. It is not thought of as that though; the term is considered unhelpful by staff. Natasha and Kelly can see the concept as relating to various aspects of their practice, aiming to educate the children that they are not the only people in the world, but a very small part of it. That kind of educational goal is not thought of as something that is prescribed and pre-set. Kelly's words below illustrate this point well:

I couldn't honestly tell you how often we have to do it. It is just one of those things we incorporate when we do our year plan, we work it out, whether it is a comparison study with another country, or a Global Citizenship thing. We also do Fairtrade Fortnight, which is another opportunity to look at other countries, and how systems work there, how people are treated there, what kind of money is given for products. So yeah, I honestly don't know how often we are meant to, I just know we kind of do that! [laughs]' (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

However, talking about **antiracist education** in their practice, teachers immediately think about responding to racist incidents. Crucially, because they do not hear racist remarks in the school, they all think the concept of racism 'doesn't come up much'. As Kelly puts it:

Here, I don't know there's anything specific that would be done, but again, perhaps because we're not actually dealing with it at the moment at the school, it's not high on, high on the agenda. (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

Natasha describes **antiracist education** as 'more of a definite you don't do this, you do that, whereas multicultural is educating in a general sense'. Asked whether she thinks that antiracist education could be a part of the multiculturally-oriented practice, she thinks that, in a way, it already is:

I suppose that with multicultural education, you would hope that through the children's learning, experiences and discussions, you would hope that they would therefore not be racist. Is it subliminal? I am not sure. You would hope that things are absorbed or taken on board, without you actually saying: you must not be racist. You would hope that through education they would not be racist. Whereas the other one is: it is illegal to be racist.

Therefore talking about 'race' or racism explicitly is still not something that the teachers consider helpful. **'Race' equality** is not a term that class teachers are used to seeing or would use as part of their language, as 'diversity is a much better word'. Those conclusions form yet another example of how uncomfortable teachers are with using politically-charged terminology, exhibiting lack of belief in the need to talk about racism and injustice in explicit terms.

9.5.2 Structural boundaries (directions, barriers, limits, opportunities)

I will now present the details of (often critically oriented) multicultural practices, observed during my week in the school, and reported by the teachers and their Head teacher as taking place during the school year. I will begin with whole school approaches, moving on to those classroom practices observed by myself, and finally to teachers reflecting on their current, past and future work.

Critical multiculturalism in practice – whole school approaches

Rosalynn believes that there are many practices at the school which engage and interest children in the multicultural, globalised nature of our world. She strongly believes that ‘you cannot develop a multicultural context by putting in black dollies or serving a samosa. It’s much more about attitude and behaviour’. She questions such tokenistic and stereotypical multicultural work and rightly notices that in order to affect change in pupils’ attitudes, meaningful and challenging experiences should take place of those which contribute to forming discriminatory and racist attitudes in children. This is seen in the following quote:

OK, putting a black dolly in does give children... it does expand their horizons and helps them to see that people have different skin colours and all of that. But to me, it’s a far more complicated thing - in terms of trying to develop attitudes. So there’s a lot of work done through projects and that kind of thing, to expand children’s views of the world. And there’s a lot of traditional work done, when teachers take on project like Egypt, and talk to children about Ancient Egypt. And you think – but have you talked to them at all about what it is like to live in Egypt now? What’s changed? So do my children for example, who were doing Egypt last year, do they all think that the things like mummies and pyramids, and all that – it’s a bit like people think Scots are all about haggis and Highland Fling. So, nagging away at me, and I’m being very honest with you, nagging away at me is this question, are we actually creating more racism, or more limited attitudes, by some of that work? I think we do need to think about it as a school. (Rosalynn, Head teacher, Meadowland)

This is also a criticism of the curriculum and its traditional perspective on the history of our civilisation, which teachers can realise wholly uncritically, contributing to strengthening stereotypical views of otherness. There are currently two whole school initiatives led by the Head teacher, which aim to address exactly that problem and make the practices more critical. They are described below.

The Head teacher encourages children to ‘see themselves as living in a big world, that’s not all the same as here’ through various means during Assemblies. Taking place every Monday morning, assemblies are Head teacher-led and one of many whole-school approaches to tackling complex issues and reaching the school’s aims in promoting its values. They have ‘very strong child input, which all class teachers have praised. One thing that the children are now doing is writing letters to relatives who live in other parts of the world. Rosalyn thinks it is helping the children realise that even they have connections to various faraway places, and

encourages them to see the value in keeping up family connections. Kelly thinks that finding out about how people live in other countries through their own family ties can be very successful. The children can write about their own day to day life in Scotland and expect something similar in return from abroad, making it relatable. As a result, they ‘got some letters back that were quite amazing’, with one currently displayed from as far as Bermuda. Kelly is however disappointed that so far in her class only one child got involved, receiving letters back from New Zealand. This is a direction which the teachers can take with their pupils freely.

Also through Assemblies, the Head teacher consciously brings children’s attention to current global issues, visible in the news, similarly relating them to their own experiences of living in Scotland. For example, she would talk about natural disasters in Haiti and in Australia, trying to pinpoint differences in the scale of devastation and rebuilding effort between rich and poor countries. They are also encouraged to follow the news at home and to bring in happy and sad world news to the next week’s Assembly. Rosalynn notices, however, that it is challenging to pitch serious topics appropriately to children who are so diverse in terms of their age and maturity, as the assemblies involve all 5 to 12 year olds.

Finally, Natasha is about to introduce the school to Mary’s Meals, a Scottish charity which supports access to education for children in a number of African countries, by providing them with free, nutritious meals at school. She is also hoping to make connections with schools in Malawi. The Head teacher is very supportive of this as she believes such projects carry much greater value than ‘studying Ancient Egyptians, the Vikings or The Titanic’ as they are more relatable to the children. They are also future-oriented, without ignoring their historically-shaped complexity and the current inequality in the world. Kelly shows a critical understanding of the charity’s work and wants to include this critical perspective in her classroom, over the sustained period of time that Mary’s Meals will run in the class. She sees it as an opportunity for the pupils ‘to learn how people live and are treated in developing countries, why is there a need to be providing the money for school lunches for children to be educated’ in any place in the world. The class will then present their learning to the whole school, including the parents.

Rosalynn believes that schools like Meadowland, with no minority ethnic presence, are equally required to teach multicultural education. She says:

I don't think you wait. I think we're in a multicultural society now, and we're in a multicultural global world, where your cultural heritage and your race, and your... all of those kinds of things, influence the person you are. I think that we have to make children aware of that. I don't think that we... I mean, I think we do cover these areas, and we cover them in a fairly systematic kind of way, but it is this thing about the value that we place on it. (Rosalynn, Head teacher, Meadowland)

Hence, she thinks that a busy curriculum is only really a substantial barrier for those teachers who are not resourceful and who would not think of bringing in critically multicultural practices into the 'basics' of education. In her view, Meadowland 'meets that challenge reasonably well, in parts, because we are still not there yet'. She believes that if teachers are motivated, socially and culturally aware, independent and resourceful, they can take any curricular subject or skill and turn it into a tool for teaching global citizenship. She says:

Rosalynn: You need to have that sort of attitude of mind, because we've got our core generation of teachers who have been brought up to go to the resources and books and textbooks and that, and don't start from a paper, newspaper article, or something. I saw this week, there was an article....

Me: Yes, both Kelly and Bridget have used articles from current newspaper in their writing tasks for children.

Rosalynn: Yeah. But they are thinking that through for themselves. They are not going to a textbook and doing something dry and dusty.

Rosalynn believes that those teachers live by different values, that they see the aims of education as wider than skills in Maths and written English. Even though the education system tends to assess Maths and English ('and you tend to assess what you value'), she believes that the teachers can and should also value and assess 'empathy, openness and adaptability', adding that 'those are all the skills that everybody is telling us the kids of the 21st century need more than any other, but do we assess it? And does that mean we don't value it?'

The Head teacher clearly has a wider vision for Meadowland Primary than for its children to be taught mainly academic skills. She wants them to learn how to be 'gentler, kinder and more

empathetic'. All staff stress the school's focus on relationships, rights and responsibilities as a very strong, daily and constant core of the target of 'breaking barriers between people'. Kelly thinks some of her pupils are finding it very hard to change their attitudes, yet all class teachers are committed to their process of working towards a Rights Respecting Schools Award, which they have just begun.

Critical multiculturalism in practice – current classroom opportunities

During the week of my observations, I saw a number of initiatives which I would describe as very much part of multicultural and antiracist education. They will now be described and reflected upon.

The second, winter school term is the time at Meadowland when 'we tend to do Scottish themes because of Burns Night'. Primary 5/6/7 is involved in a number of projects relating to Scottish identity (for example the 'Kidnapped' project, where children solve a mystery based geographically in the Scottish isles). However, with a combination of Rosalynn's whole school initiatives and Natasha's ideas, this is taken much further, beyond Scotland.

One of this term's targets in the Primary 5/6/7 class is 'to enjoy the richness and diversity of languages of Scotland'. The whole school is involved in a joint project with the Scottish Opera on a specially-written performance. It is about Scotland preparing for the Olympic Games, where three groups of people: athletes, tourists and tour guides prepare for their part in a sporting tour around Scotland. The children are systematically learning songs from another class, which gets to work with Scottish Opera singers. This provides an opportunity to talk about the origins and the current international nature of opera but also about the global aspects of sport. It has also prompted Kelly to ask children why athletes can represent countries other than the ones they were born in. She talks about migration, why some people choose to migrate while others are forced by their circumstances. She also discusses short-term movement of athletes around the world and asks children where the famous Scottish sportspeople live and train. It is an example of an opportunity grasped at a good moment, as the whole discussion

did not take more than a few minutes, being naturally woven into their singing practice. However, it was part of a bigger plan, an introduction of sorts. As Natasha explains:

I am really interested in this business of identity and toleration... tolerance – is that the right word? So I said to Kelly and Bridget that I would really like to do a kind of citizenship project, tying in a little bit with Mary's Meals and all the loose threads. [...] I wanted to do a thing about immigration because I see from the media and press that it is a bit of an issue. And then the Scottish Opera came along with suggestions about emigration, so I thought I would do all about the movement of people. It's a chance for me to do something that I feel strongly about. And tying it in with the issue of being Scottish – what does it mean to be Scottish. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

This resulted in the creation of a project on migration, on the back of the Opera performance, entitled 'Scotland: why people move? Becoming a global citizen'. It aimed to cover various aspects of migration in detail. Children were introduced to terms such as emigrate, immigrate and migrate, to show that people move everywhere, not just to Scotland. The history of the Highland Clearances and in-Scotland migration was mentioned, as well as why many Gaelic speakers have moved away from the north west of Scotland. The class discussed how understanding what happened in the past helps them understand what is happening now.

Natasha made links with children's relatives living abroad and asked them why people choose to emigrate. Children also considered why others can be forced to leave, listing reasons like fear for safety, war, dangerous weather or climate, looking for better jobs, being gay and facing racism. All those factors came from the children. Gay rights not being recognised in some countries raised a few giggles from older boys, but really only when Natasha pointed out that the word 'homosexual' is the correct term to be used, knowing well that children misuse the word 'gay' in school. Racism was also followed up by Natasha, who defined it in terms of skin colour, talking about white people being 'nasty' to people who have different skin colours.

What followed was that the children were given 5 detailed case studies of migrants, which they read in pairs and analysed to find out the reasons for migration in people's stories. These texts, obtained from a BBC website, were quite difficult, intended for readers of about 16 years of age, but the class managed to get the required information from them. They used a pre-prepared worksheet, which lists some common reasons in term of push and pull factors to help

their analysis, which Natasha described as ‘not in depth’. Points on this worksheet broadly matched the list which the class came up with earlier, adding only reasons to do with language diversity. Push and pull factors were discussed again as a whole class. This led directly to the children sitting nearest to me turning my way and asking me about my own experience of moving to Scotland. We agreed with Natasha that the children should have a chance to ask me all the questions they might have in a Q&A session later that day, which they did.

Natasha had asked me the previous day if I would agree to be their ‘live case study’. Of course I agreed, with pleasure. I was asked all sorts of relevant and interesting questions:

- Was my reason for moving to Scotland a push or a pull factor?
- Where in Poland am I from?
- What do I miss about Poland?
- What is Christmas like in Poland?
- Are the winters really cold? Do people live in igloos? (at this point Natasha asks children to find Poland on the map)
- When did I start learning English?
- What do I like about Scotland?
- What do I mean by saying that ‘life is easier here than in Poland’?
- What do I study in Edinburgh?
- Where in the USA is my husband from?
- Can I say something in Polish? (I did)
- How do you travel between Poland and Scotland?
- Is there a main religion in Poland?

I also had a chance to ask them what they knew about Poland, and it turned out to be not much, not even the name of one city. Natasha picked up on this very quickly, asking her pupils to think of European football teams, to which one boy immediately replied, saying: ‘on-one has ever heard of a Polish football team on Sky sports’. Natasha followed this by asking him: ‘what do you mean, ‘no-one’? I know some of them! And how do you know, maybe football is not the main sport there, but other sports are more prominent, like basketball in Latvia?’

I was impressed both by the children's curiosity and positive attitude and by Natasha's immediate reaction to the negative sounding football comment. We did manage to name famous Polish footballers in the end. Later, Natasha said that having me as a 'real life' case study was a matter of chance as this activity had been planned some time before, and she was really happy to be able to use me as a resource. I was very happy too, having engaged for nearly half an hour with the children on this Q&A session. They were 'buzzing' for the rest of the day, while labelling a map outline of the world with names of oceans, continents, countries and their capitals.

It was also at this point that Natasha first introduced the idea of supporting 'Mary's Meals' as a school. She explained that the children which this charity supports live in smaller countries that they have probably never heard of, and that they should look for them on a map after they find where Poland and Warsaw are! At this point I was as one of the staff, helping the children find some countries on the map and answering all additional questions they had for me.

This migration topic was prepared by all three teachers, following Natasha's lead. Bridget, who took a step back from leading the day, demonstrated a degree of ownership during the interview, stating for example that global citizenship topics should be covered 'even if your school isn't diverse'. In practical terms though global citizenship, too, is an optional add-on to the curriculum, 'perhaps something that you need to try to find the time for'.

As Bridget explains, the migration initiative grew from the school's request for children to make links with their own relatives living abroad, in the hope that this would lead to them realising that emigration and immigration are just two sides of the same coin, that 'they are both positive and OK'. This is an example of a new teacher, like Bridget, opening up to the idea of exploring ethnic identity in all children, following the Head teacher's and the activist class teacher's leadership, as she develops her own understanding of what critical multicultural education could involve. As shown, she is not yet at a point where she can plan these kinds of practices independently. She takes more of an observer role, but appears to be heading in a positive direction. Currently, Bridget's views on supporting Scottish charity work in Malawi reveals somewhat stereotypical views of difference and ethnicity in Africa and a charity

perspective on 'us' helping 'them'. The evidence of criticality in Bridget's attitudes to global wealth inequality was mixed.

Notably, other important and difficult concepts were discussed that week. The class talked extensively about democracy, but did not manage to discuss dictatorship, despite Natasha's efforts. They talked about oppressive societies and human rights, as well as discussing faith and belief as potential factors for discriminating against people. I did not observe any mention of refugees or asylum seekers, even though experiences of such people were covered in class. Finally, Natasha brought it all back together at the end of the week and reflected on how these topics relate to global citizenship.

The Opera project also allows the class to explore values of equality and fairness by asking the children to design a logo for their Games. Alongside looking at examples of logos from around the world, Kelly introduced a few concepts to the class, which she wanted them to consider for this task. These were: equality, fairness, honesty, goodwill, inclusion and being sporting. They were first defined together and then children discussed ways in which those values reflect the nature of big and small sporting events.

Moreover, the school takes part in the Annual Burns Night poem reciting competition, organised by a local newspaper. It forms children's homework, to choose, learn and recite a poem. It is stressed by the class teachers that Scots is a disappearing language and that there is great value in them learning poems in Scots. Children are supported in class and it is seen as a whole-school event. This is an example of valuing and promoting children's cultural heritage and an aspect of their identity relating to having more than one language in use in Scotland.

Other literacy goals have been reached in the class by making use of non-standard, creative resources and have been carried out in critical multicultural ways. Natasha led an activity aimed at learning how to take notes from reading and organise them under headings, showing an understanding of the content of a text. Her reading of choice was a newspaper article about Afghanistan, which described its poor record on human and women's rights, explained that

women cannot exercise all their freedoms, for example they are not allowed to be teachers, and how faith minorities can be oppressed in the society. Natasha takes time at the end of the activity to also ask the children if they found the content interesting and did they learn anything from it. This is an example of practising how to be reflective, but also how easy it is to introduce critically-oriented topics and global ideas to the classroom on the teacher's own initiative.

Natasha says she finds those spaces herself, but she believes that:

We should all be finding ways of bringing Global Citizenship in, because it is part of the Curriculum for Excellence. That, plus the Health and Wellbeing, which is thinking about rights and responsibilities and the different people's needs and how they are met. It's difficult because things are changing with the Curriculum for Excellence, but it should be its part. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

However, teachers do not feel that the Curriculum for Excellence Guidance supports them in putting such projects together. Natasha conducted a focused search for appropriately fitting curricular Outcomes in Citizenship, after looking at Learning Teaching Scotland website 'for quite a long time', finally picking four themes 'from this massive, big document'. She remarks that being able to tie in to the Curriculum 'helps me to focus, to use the goals and outcomes of what we are working towards, and it helps the children in their learning, too'.

Bridget is also surprised that they struggled to pinpoint Outcomes that would clearly support their ideas, 'unless we're missing something or just not seeing it'. Bridget thinks the curricular opportunities for critical multiculturalism are too fragmented and would prefer to see a more coordinated approach, with 'time set aside'. In Meadowland, children learn about world religions and religious festivals in RE, also the Primary 6 and 7 pupils have some very limited input on German culture during their German language lessons. Another example from practice that she found challenging was topic work on wars in history, where she found herself having to disrupt children's essentialising notions of whole nations, such as conflating Germans with Nazis in the black and white language of 'goodies and baddies'. Ideally, she would like to have more time available to spend on multicultural topics, but is not sure how it could work in practice. She guesses that Health and Wellbeing and also Personal and Social

Education could cover that more but she thinks that currently that is not the focus in those subjects.

Other teacher practices are worth mentioning here. The class rules, introduced every August, are presented on a display board as rights and responsibilities, and phrased by the children themselves. In class, teachers regularly quiz children on very random, cross-discipline, global knowledge, pushing them to learn about the world. Children collect marbles for good answers which earn them rewards. They are also asked for feedback on how they found a day's activities before they leave for home.

The school has a system for building positive self-image and self-esteem for all pupils. Every week, two children are listed as 'persons of the week' and all others write positive comments about them, something that they've noticed during that week. This encourages all pupils to consider others for their qualities, even if they are not their closest friends; it also helps children realise that others can judge and appreciate them as persons. One project the class is doing now is about recognising feelings and emotions and dealing with them positively. Children learn to recognise and name their own and others' feelings, their causes and how they can affect people. Teachers use group work and drama techniques for this topic.

There was one Scottish-French child in class, whom I would like to mention here. According to Bridget, the other children 'found it fascinating' that he is bilingual, but he did not speak about that part of his identity in class. Kelly added that they were a bit lost as to why that was the case. She saw him as 'very reluctant to show you anything that makes him different from everybody else', so the teachers did not manage to build on his bicultural and bilingual identity. It was also pointed out that the class studies German, not French and therefore he 'has no opportunity to shine' in Modern Foreign Languages. I find this view rather peculiar, and personally I read it as an excuse. Coming from an education system where children can choose which languages they study at school, where schools employ a number of foreign language teachers, the fact that Scottish children cannot choose the one language they study seems to me severely limiting their chances of success. Children's motivation for learning foreign languages has been shown to matter in their overall enjoyment, attainment and sustained use

of the foreign language(s) they study (Gardiner and Lambert 1972; Barton 2003). Teachers do not recognise that; they also assume that the bilingual boy would not choose to learn another foreign language but choose to 'study' French at school, being a native French speaker! It seems that the principles behind the 1+2 Approach, slowly being introduced to Scottish schools, and the educational conversations surrounding this development, was at that point in time (2011) completely unknown to Meadowland teachers. Although, to be fair, this topic did not form a part of teacher interviews at the time.

During my time in class, the bilingual boy was very interested in me and asked me questions whenever he had the opportunity. He wanted to know about all aspects of living in Scotland from my perspective, having asked for example, had I anticipated, when I was small, that I would leave Poland in the future; or am I allowed to work in Scotland, because his dad is not allowed to work in France (which is why, he believes, they do not live there). To me he was clearly considering all that through his own bicultural perspective. When I mentioned this to the teachers and the Head teacher, they were all very surprised. They considered him as someone who struggles, a withdrawn person 'with lots of challenges, not a happy confident wee boy'. I saw a different child throughout my week there, which suggests he either did not have the chances to explore his complex identity, or he felt this was not the right thing to do. Seeing how deeply teachers are concerned for children to 'fit in' and not stand out, and how little knowledge Scottish teachers have about bilingualism and language learning in general, this is hardly surprising, despite all the efforts described already in this chapter. This child's bicultural and bilingual identity was ignored, with all three teachers confused as to what to do. This resulted in them taking very little or no action to build up his confidence on the fact that he carries with him many additional advantages of being bilingual and bicultural, which he could capitalise on and help the other children tame any fears they might have about speaking foreign languages, to name just one area.

Other teacher-led classroom practices, present and past: multicultural or antiracist?

In Kelly's experience, more general issues of fairness and equality come up a lot, 'because of some children here who don't understand fairness and equality and who are using a bullying behaviour in the playground'. A lot of discussion about feelings and empathy, 'from a Personal and Social Development point of view' is happening in the class as '5 minutes here and there' kind of work, when 'situations arise and you deal with them there and then'. Kelly's practices are related to issues which affect the children and in that way children-led. She says that they often talk explicitly about body image or how to behave towards each other during physical activity. In this context, Kelly takes up the topic of difference easily and wants the children to be able to talk about it and accept it, pointing out to the children that feeling different can negatively affect their fellow pupils' confidence. As there are no minority ethnic children in class, those aspects of children's difference are not on Kelly's mind.

Bridget also thinks it is very important to talk about difference in class, but she understands this primarily as explaining to children why they are organised into ability groups, that those are not 'set in stone' but change as children's learning progresses. Bridget thinks children 'want to know their place and where they are in relation to others', as they don't want to be 'the odd one out'. Asked to imagine there are new, minority ethnic children joining her class, she takes up the worry of children being 'put on the spot' and says she would be nervous about her own behaviour and attitude to these children was inclusive enough and whether she would treat them equally so they wouldn't stand out. At the same time, she says she knows there is a variety of ways for teachers to help EAL children settle in and 'ease their transitions'. Bridget does not know what EAL support is available at the authority level in Lakeshire. Somehow the desire to be inclusive is expressed as the desire to help all children feel they belong and fit in.

At the same time, Bridget believes that education can prepare children for being citizens of the globalised world by helping them understand the processes of migration. She believes children often pick up on parental discriminatory attitudes to migrants and need to be shown that migration brings more benefits than challenges, for example by learning that many of

Scotland's medical staff are minority ethnic. In terms of how practically this can be done in school, she is 'not sure how to really go about it, other than just having it out open on the table for discussion, trying to get over all that negativity, explore it as an issue and see what they think'. This suggests that Bridget trusts in children's ability to make their own judgements, when an issue is properly examined. However, when asked how teachers like her can help all children form justice-oriented attitudes, prepare for a life in a multicultural society and learn how to stand up to discrimination, in practice in primary school, she admits that she doesn't know. She also remarks that apart from the topic on migration undertaken at the time of this research, she hasn't 'covered it [multicultural and antiracist education] in any detail with any class before'.

In fact, she is able to share one other example. She describes a text she analysed with a Primary 6/7 class in the past, about the life of Nelson Mandela. Her pupils discussed apartheid in South Africa, issue of race, and 'how it has changed since then for that country', being shocked to learn about it all. She declares that she will 'definitely do this topic again' as it was thought provoking and considered 'the rights and wrongs' of imprisoning people for their beliefs and their drive to defend equality.

Natasha also spoke about her past practice, for example as part of Health Education, tying it in with global citizenship and environmental issues. She remembers a topic on inhabitants of the rainforest, highlighting 'some of the problems they have'. A few years ago, Natasha took up the opportunity for her class to correspond with a friend of hers, a Scottish teacher volunteering in Uganda. She used her friend's very different cultural experiences 'as part of finding out about other countries', saying that 'I would always try to bring it in somewhere, in the year'.

Kelly can think of many ways in which she has been able to include multiculturalism in the curriculum. She speaks of Literacy being the most prolific curricular area, but she can also recall a topic she led on a comparison of fishing as a part of life in Scotland and Thailand, relating it to ordinary people's lived experiences. She also mentions Comic Relief,

acknowledging that ‘when they come around, you are given the opportunity I guess to look at people and children in other countries’.

In the past, Kelly has also worked on an animation project in collaboration with schools from Spain, Italy, and England as part of an EU Comenius project. Each class made an animation based on a cultural story from their country and then shared it with the other three. Kelly’s class researched and prepared a story based on the legends of Selkies, the Seal People of Scotland. Additionally, her class shared with the wider school community, including the parents and grandparents, nursery rhymes and playground games they learned about from those other countries in the course of the project. This project also involved a teacher exchange and her travelling to Spain to teach the Spanish teachers and children how to use animation.

Antiracism in practice

Kelly struggled, at first, to think of occasions when she could talk about racism or do explicitly antiracist activities in class. However, through talking about her own practices, as well as discussing my classroom observations, it is evident that **antiracist education** is implicit in her practice, even if unplanned. This is because racism is:

...the kind of thing that we would discuss, but it might have come up in a book, or something... We quite often use real newspaper reports, like I was doing the other day. We often do reading skills through using current newspapers, written for children. I think probably something might come up from that, and it would be discussed, but I can’t show you actual examples. I honestly don’t know the nitty-gritty of what I would want the class to do, if we were looking at antiracism. (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

In fact, she goes as far as to say that she ‘wouldn’t want it to be a fixed part of the curriculum that we’d have to deliver, because:

I think then in places like Meadowland we would be dealing with things that actually children don’t understand the need for. And possibly don’t even understand at all. And that would be a huge part of our curriculum time. Yes, there are schools where it needs to be in place, but I think for the schools where it doesn’t, that would be a huge, negative aspect to the Curriculum.

Despite believing that antiracist education is ‘incredibly important’, Kelly states it is only important for primary schools ‘where it’s needed’. She believes high schools, which in Lakeshire all have more culturally diverse pupil populations, should include antiracism in their Personal and Social Education curriculum, as ‘it is more relevant at the time when they need it’.

Similarly, Bridget thinks it would be harder for the younger children to understand concepts of discrimination and inequality if they haven’t had the experience of being discriminated against, as they are ‘quite self-involved’. Herself, she claims she would find it easier to talk about it with older children, but believes that in principle, children should start learning about equality ‘as early as possible’. Unfortunately Bridget was not able to think of concrete ways of doing so.

Natasha understands the need to teach critically multicultural education more widely. She sees it a part of her role, as well as one of the aims of education in general, to prepare children for a life in a diverse society, from the very beginning of their time in school. She says:

It is really important to start looking at equality, diversity and citizenship as early as possibly you can. In theory, it should be as easy or as difficult to do it at any ages, because you are doing it in a different way. But also possibly they have less of a mind set when they are young, so they accept things more readily. If you begin teaching things when they are older, it’s more difficult, if they haven’t been doing them all the way up. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

It is also clear that Natasha realises how difficult it may be to change attitudes of older children. In practice, however, she thinks she strongly challenges discriminatory remarks, whenever they crop up, as was visible during my observations.

As shown in this section, teacher understandings of multicultural and antiracist education are perhaps built on the drive to respond to their pupils’ needs, as initially they think multiculturalism or antiracism is not something they do. However, it is evident that classroom practices observed and discussed in Meadowland are critically multicultural, whether the teachers realise this (like Natasha), or partially realise it without naming it as such (like Kelly and to an extent also Bridget). They still do it, they just call it part of creating a positive,

respectful ethos for the children to experience and learn about, so that they leave the primary school with solid foundations for new challenges in their lives, outside of the small village environment. This suggests that multicultural and antiracist education as concepts are recognisable to primary school teachers, but not relatable or practical for them. They are seen as separate types of education, with very different aims and applications, and if anything, they can sign up to teaching multiculturalism, but not necessarily antiracism, something that especially Kelly expressed very clearly. Meadowland's priorities in education lie in making sure the children are safe, happy, respected, learning a wide range of skills, in an environment attuned to their individual, social and emotional needs.

9.5.3 Policy to practice translation

Bridget does not know if the school has any antiracist policy, adding that ‘there could well be one, but maybe it’s not dug out’ as there is no racial diversity in the school. This suggests that she understands any potential antiracist school policy as a set of procedures or advice in case there are minority ethnic children present and incidents could happen. Bridget has not witnessed racism, or ‘anything major’ so far in her practice. However, having taken part in a project led by ‘Kick It Out’, the antiracist, football-based initiative, during her probationary year, she remembers that children could be ‘very negative’. She believes that if a racist incident happened in her class, she would not ‘just leave it there, it would have to be something you go into and talk about’, adding:

It’s hard because if that’s the view that they have... It’s trying to open up their thinking, really. You know, do you really mean that comment or is it just because everyone else is saying it and you want to be in with the crowd? (Bridget, class teacher, Meadowland)

She is aware of the need to report racist incidents by filling out an incident form ‘as it is a serious thing’. But most importantly, antiracist work for her means ‘trying to get rid of ignorance’. Those views suggest that antiracist policy and antiracist practice are not really well aligned. Bridget seems to be associating policy with responding to the presence of racial diversity at the school, with the potential discrimination it could trigger, whereas she treats global citizenship as part of antiracist practice which she would make space for in her class, no matter who the pupils are. It is interesting that she hints at expecting to see incidents if the school was more diverse, despite not having experienced anything like that in her previous practice with single minority ethnic pupils she taught for a short time in other schools.

Kelly also did not know what happens to the **written racist incident reports**. She used to fill them when working in city schools, and pass them on to the Head teacher, but could only guess what happened afterwards, saying:

I’m possibly going to make this bit up, but I think that if it happened more than once, then it would be a matter for either involving parents or involving somebody even more senior than the Head teacher. I know it was treated very seriously, the children

were under... you know... kind of guesses as to what would happen to them. I don't know! (Kelly, class teacher, Meadowland)

If a racist incident happened in Meadowland, based on her past practice Kelly thinks she would 'do something, whether it was circle time, or using a story to illustrate that kind of point and then discussion after.' Kelly is also aware of Show Racism the Red Card but does not know the details of this programme. Most importantly, she believed she would like to uncover 'why somebody believed it was OK to say racist remarks to another person', then talk about 'fairness and equality between people, no matter their skin colour, language they speak or religion they follow'.

The reporting of racist incidents seems to be the only official policy that the teachers are aware of. Rosalynn agrees that this is very strongly stressed by the authority, but she is keen to problematise the issue of categorising children's behaviour in a rigid way. Even though she agrees with Kelly and Bridget that there are no such observed incidents in Meadowland, she believes that what counts as a racist incident may be relative. She would like to see clearer guidance from the local authority about it:

A lot of it depends on how you interpret a 'racist incident' and how liberal you are in your definitions. So there's maybe a grey area there that the council need to advise us more about, you know. When does bullying become racism, and vice versa? I think these are tricky areas. (Rosalynn, Head teacher, Meadowland)

Moreover, the Head teacher sees it as concerning that naming an incident as racist might lead to calling a child racist. Especially when it comes to very young children expressing racist or discriminatory attitudes, she stresses the need to explain, iron things out, but understand that children's worldviews are only just forming. There is a lot of sensitivity and realism behind such an attitude, as visible below:

And another thing to remember, and again I'm saying this as an excuse, is that we're dealing with children that are forming ideas and views. They are very young. So I don't want to be categorising 5 year olds in school as racist, when I know that it's something that I need to go out with them on, to try and change their view. (Rosalynn, Head teacher, Meadowland)

This suggests that blanket treatment of racist language or attitudes for children all ages is inappropriate. Much more detailed, more considerate guidance for schools is needed, as the current 'one size fits all' approach does not seem to be accepted. As such issues are not often discussed by teachers, I would suggest they need to be introduced and discussed in safe environments over a period of time, to have time to read, talk and reflect on them, at a personal and group level within any one organisation. Rosalynn believes that all aspects of inequality should be discussed more openly by teachers, pointing to social class inequality as by far the most widespread and persistent aspect of injustice that she has faced throughout her whole teaching career. Moreover, she believes that the predominantly middle class, female teachers, with 'fixed ideas about what a child should be doing, seeing, feeling and thinking' actually contribute to sustaining the achievement gap between pupils, therefore they should reflect on their own position and influence on their pupils more.

Recent changes in the Equalities legislation and the corresponding current efforts to adapt policies at the local authority level were discussed with Rosalynn. Reflecting on the Equality Act and the Lakeshire authority's Equality and Diversity policy documents, she considers herself already regularly discussing with the children the issue of discriminating against people based on what are now called 'protected characteristics'. For example, she tackles sexism and homophobia at assemblies and by working with teachers on how to respond to everyday occurrences of sexist, homophobic and sectarian language in class.

Speaking of her own knowledge of current local authority policies, which at the time may have been just drafted or newly updated, she suggest I check directly with the Council, as 'it might be that I am not completely in touch with what has been produced'. As she is familiar with the complexities of policy production processes at local authority level, she says that even though a lot of work may be currently happening in the appropriate departments, 'it just doesn't always filter down to us at school'. This is why she is confident only about the documents actually accessible on the Council's internal educational information system and her own school policies. She remarks: 'that's what's clear for me, that's what I summarised'. This suggests that there is scope for more involvement of Head teachers with the authority's policy/education officers, as such partnerships could be mutually beneficial and help national

legislation become more effectively adapted on the ground. If the Head teachers are involved in creating local authority policies, in partnership with the authority, the resulting documents could potentially be written in a way which is more practically relevant to class teachers.

None of the three class teachers knew about local authority policies on equality and diversity or the Equalities legislation. They were also unable to pinpoint a related school policy on it, with Kelly adding that it is ‘possibly my fault for not knowing’. The Equality Act just rings a bell for her, but she points out that ‘it has not filtered through to here [the school]’, which she considers as already facing equality issues head on.

Natasha remarks that policies are the Head teacher’s responsibility but that she does not know ‘how up to date the policies are’. She adds: ‘I would think that you being here, Ania, will have prompted Rosalynn to look at policies and things. Probably we will be looking at it more...’

Even commenting on the summary of school’s policies glued to the teachers’ desks, Natasha is not confident enough to detail their content, saying: ‘I would have to read it again. I don’t retain things. I’ve got too much in my head.’ This is a point also made by Kelly, who thinks teachers ‘are constantly being given things to read, and keep updated with, then change the school policies from’ - operating within a culture of ‘information overload’, especially when it comes to curricular requirements put on them from above.

Overall, policy documents, whether at the school or the authority level (aside from the scripts used for consistency in addressing behaviour in class), are not considered useful in teachers’ practice. Natasha offers a view on this matter:

They are not all useful, for me it’s having the time and energy to refer back to them. Because I do find I read things and I think: oh, that’s good. I would hope, most of this I am doing, to a point. But you have to keep referring back. It’s almost like the Outcomes – having something to keep looking back. And if you don’t, you will have forgotten about that. So this is where having a chance as staff to sit down and talk about stuff is helpful. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

Natasha believes that the local authority should ‘give support’ by promoting equality and diversity as much as the Head teachers and class teachers, so that it is promoted at all levels.

She remarks: 'I suppose they would say they do, because there are the policies, and there may well be some resources, and there is the CPD, for example how to set up a school partnership through the Global Citizenship programme.' However, working part-time, she finds that it is very hard to go to CPD courses to pursue her interest. She prefers to use her quota time to be part of all the Inset Days in her school and is also reluctant to use classroom time for her own professional development. She also thinks that school leadership, especially in places where there is only one promoted staff member, as in Meadowland, can only have a limited impact. Natasha thinks that the Head teacher is 'very keen for us to get together, talk and share practice', but that on the whole the teachers don't tend to do that.

All teachers considered the idea of using specially-designed, equality-related resources. Bridget would like to see the authority introduce teachers to programs or resources that would be useful for her as ideas for practice, especially if they were aligned to children's ages, but she is not aware if any such things exist. Natasha prepares her own, but realises that not all teachers would do that:

Because I work part time and my children have grown, I can spend the time preparing material. But it took me a long time to prepare my thoughts, what I wanted to do, and the resources for this morning's work. That took a long time. Now, whether there would ever be a book that would deliver exactly what I wanted to do anyway..? I am one of the people who tends to make up my own things and then the next year you do something slightly different. In that way the curriculum is good, moving away from textbooks, being able to use newspaper articles rather than a textbook. But it all takes time, to fit to the ages and to find the Outcomes I wanted to do with the Citizenship. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

Rosalynn remarked that as a Head teacher, she would most like to see examples of good practice, 'of things that work', which she could introduce to her school for each class teacher to adapt into their practice.

Natasha believes that what happens in practice depends on her personal commitment only 'up to a point', but that the deciding factor is whether or not her ideas can be incorporated into the curriculum, saying: 'as long as I can find the Outcomes, and am working towards those, covering the curriculum, it is up to me. Obviously I have to discuss this with Bridget and Kelly, but I think Kelly feels strongly about this too.' There was no other way identified as universally

ideal to improve the practice of multicultural and antiracist education, as the curriculum is already full. As Natasha puts it:

Citizenship and diversity are so important, but I don't know what I would take out. I have this concern that we don't often cover the basics. And that's why I try and fit them in to whatever we are doing. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

9.6 Summary

Rosalyn stresses that Kelly, Bridget and Natasha are examples of good practice in her school, 'helping reach the tipping point' as the balance of teacher attitudes to inclusion is changing. She believes that new teachers come in with a 'broader experience', which is very welcome in a school where most staff have taught since the start of their careers. Those teachers find it most difficult, in Rosalynn's view, to speak their mind if they disagree, to feel they can engage in debates with their 'new' Head teacher or to be active in helping children with severely challenging behaviour, instead of resorting to exclusions. Overall, she is positive about achieving her goals for the school in the future.

As was shown, Rosalynn directs all her energy, including through the school policies, at improving teachers' practice. She aims to introduce robust whole school approaches underpinned by values expressed in the policies that she writes, where inclusive education takes prime position in all that teachers do. She is determined that the teachers hear what parents have to say about the education of their children and also for the children to be understood, no matter how different their social background may be from those of their teachers. Such an attitude lends itself to mainstreaming critically multicultural education, too, as part of teachers' imaginative and reflective practice. Encouraging teachers to embrace their creativity and promoting activist dispositions are seen by Rosalynn as key to truly successful practice. Policies themselves are intended to be the building blocks of their practice, but whether they act as such or not is a matter of individual interpretation. Even though the local authority (and the school) do not offer teachers much opportunity to take ownership of equality and diversity policies, the teachers were found to be actually putting into practice the school's values.

Bridget's professional experience has been largely fragmented, with 'not the most settled beginning' to her nearly 3 year old career, working as a supply teacher for 2 years. This, coupled with a lack of knowledge of, or interest in multiculturalism, and a generally weak commitment to teaching social justice, means that she has not given much attention to that topic so far. She identifies longer term topics, embedded in the curriculum, as the most promising sites for doing critically multicultural work with children, but is entirely unsure about practice and currently resorts to observing others. Educational priorities for her seem to be centred on the traditional, academic aspects of schooling. She does show some understanding of the need for critical multicultural education, but this is not strong as she struggles to relate it to her and her pupils' lives. However, she is spending this year of her professional practice observing and working in partnership with two teachers who have a better understanding and commitment to equality.

Kelly is not as explicit about including critically multicultural topics in her practice as Natasha, yet there is evidence that they both do it. Even though it is a 'soft' version, with the categories of 'race' or racism not finding their ways to the classroom, they teach the children about discrimination, difference, aspects of identity, their place in the local and global community and many more aspects of what they call Global Citizenship. Kelly's stance is that she can only hope that by modelling respect and inclusion and by addressing injustices and discrimination in other aspects of children's lives, this will filter through to them 'not being racist'.

Natasha agrees, but is a bit more critical. She thinks that the children do show narrow, parochial attitudes 'from their parents' and often react negatively 'even to a different accent, never mind a different colour, I don't know how they would deal with that'. However, she has seen that the pupils can develop positive, inclusive attitudes to difference. In the last few years, there were two wheelchair users at the school and they were both 'accepted very well'. She describes her class as generally 'quite patient' with children who have learning difficulties or additional support needs, concluding that in cases when pupils grow up with difference around them, they do not treat it negatively. Natasha values an 'ability to go from the small scale' to having positive attitudes in the general society. This is why she incorporates topics and

resources explicitly on inequality and discrimination into her daily practice, thinking that the school is unlikely to diversify its population any time soon.

Natasha also notices that the curriculum is centred on Scottishness, which she attributes to the current political climate of the country. She sees that ‘Literacy and Science outcomes are very much celebrating Scottish achievement. I think a lot of that came about because we have the SNP. It is very much Scottish. We are celebrating Scottish literature, we are not being encouraged to look at American authors, or Polish authors, and I think this may be a political direction.’ Natasha will keep on working on aspects of children’s identity, adding in reference to the work witnessed by me that week: ‘We may even speak about you! Did Mrs Byerly ever say that she could be Scottish?’

Overall, she cannot decide whether it is more due to structural factors and limits or individual teacher preference, what is prioritised in the classroom, noting:

The opportunities were always there, although they probably should be greater. Global Citizenship as an important thing came many years ago. If you want to do things... I wonder whether each individual teacher’s underlying philosophy of life, it’s going to come through, whatever are the opportunities... perhaps... not sure. (Natasha, class teacher, Meadowland)

Natasha doesn’t think many Scottish teachers share their good practice, due to lack of collegiate time and a cultural inclination against bragging, showing a ‘mustn’t blow my own trumpet’ attitude.

Rosalynn and Natasha concluded that they were really glad that I have come in to do my research at their school. Natasha hoped that I could observe a real link between teacher claims and practices, ‘that it’s not all talk’. Rosalynn added:

It’s been interesting and it’s made me think, so I’m going to have a bit more think about it now, I’m going to go back to some of this. I think you coming in, made me think, oh maybe I do need to think about an equality and diversity thing [policy]. And I’ll talk to the teachers in P5/6/7 about how they found it and what they’ve been thinking about. (Rosalynn, Head teacher, Meadowland)

Chapter 10

Cross-case analysis and discussion

10.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to address the original Research Questions by juxtaposing perspectives from literature and those of this study's participants. I point out similarities and discrepancies between teachers' viewpoints on multiculturalism and antiracism in education. Teachers' theoretical understandings, underpinning the practices in four primary schools, are considered. I compare them across the school settings, as well as bringing attention to conflicts within settings. The notion of the importance of context, as one of the deciding factors in practice, is returned to. However, context is understood both as the school/classroom setting, and as individual teachers' life histories having a major impact on children's experiences of multicultural and antiracist education.

To remind the reader, four Research Questions (RQ) guided this study:

RQ1: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of what is meant by multicultural and antiracist education in Scotland?

RQ2: What are teachers' awareness and understandings of education policy related to multicultural and antiracist education in Scotland?

RQ3: What attitudes do teachers have towards cultural diversity in and outside the school?

RQ4: How teachers' understandings, attitudes and beliefs related to the above impact on their practice?

The above Research Questions attempted to examine different aspects of a teacher's role and identity. Main findings of this study focus on teacher characteristics, personal values and dispositions; their professionalism, reflexivity, ability to work in partnerships with other staff

as well as to continue own development; levels of engagement with policy; and finally the classroom practice itself and the extent to which is it underpinned by activist tendencies. I found that those aspects were difficult to separate out, having identified that both teacher personal characteristics and structural barriers placed on teachers were linked in many complex ways.

The structure of this chapter is as therefore as follows. I begin by considering the nine teachers' understandings of multicultural and antiracist education in relation to the literature, thereby providing a commentary to RQ1. This is then connected with teacher awareness of relevant education policies and their views on how much such policies affect their daily work (RQ2). Here I take a moment to consider discrepancies between policy and teacher understandings of what 'race' equality in education means. Next, I return to the central position of the teacher, considering teacher identity, dispositions and some of their characteristics as major components governing their practice. By looking deeply into how teachers conceptualise ethnic, cultural, linguistic and other aspects of diversity, I attempt to shine a light on RQ3. Teacher professionalism is also discussed, before moving on to the many structural directions and boundaries mediating classroom practice. The influences of the local authority, the nature and needs of the individual school population and the school's leadership are considered as potential barriers, limits, directions and also as opportunities, depending on the school's context. Questions about the origins of critically multicultural practice are posed in relation to the determinants of any such action, such as the curriculum or teachers' activism. All the above considerations form a response to RQ4.

The comprehensive, cross-case discussion of emerging themes in this research is intended to illuminate the points in question and thereby provide commentaries to each Research Question. I close this chapter by summarising the key findings and offering some points for further consideration. What follows is the final chapter of this thesis, which draws conclusions, implications and reflections arising from my research study.

10.2 Teacher understandings of multicultural and antiracist education: defining concepts and grappling with terminology

The longstanding debate about the aims of multicultural and antiracist education, as described in Chapter 2, is in my view still visible in schools. When teachers and Head teachers are asked to consider what the key concepts mean to them, it is immediately clear that the picture is very mixed and they are often uncertain of what they think, having seldom or possibly never considered those issues before. These issues would appear to never be high on the agendas of these schools. On the whole many teachers still hold uncritical views of multicultural education and are uneasy about their role in antiracist, antidiscriminatory practices. Not many teachers see the possibility of a third, critically multicultural approach, one that this thesis argues for, as being embedded and mainstreamed through the curriculum.

Terminology matters. What teachers say they do, and how they believe they practise multicultural and antiracist education, is a matter of interpretation of those terms by the individual teachers.

In most schools, values of inclusion, respect and fairness are considered to be the building blocks of the school ethos. If such ethos permeates practice, and if it is built on respecting children's rights and striving for understanding and egalitarian relationships between pupils and staff, teachers and Head teachers believe that it can really make a difference in *all* pupil's lives. Such principles have been described as elements of critical multicultural practice in the literature (see May and Sleeter, 2010), suggesting that truly inclusive schools engage in critical multiculturalism. However, in this study I have found that multicultural and antiracist education are not *concepts* which schools and teachers tend to refer to of their own accord when they consider how children can learn to be respectful of others and stand up to injustice.

Teachers name global citizenship, and sometimes acknowledge the need to build bridges with local minority ethnic communities, as something that might constitute a multicultural education. Some teachers consider multicultural education as what they do 'anyway', mainstreamed through the curriculum and 'part of normal practice'. However, the majority of teachers participating in this study still consider this term to mean learning about some faraway

or exotic ‘other’. This suggests that the concept itself is more of a slogan rather than thoughtful practice. Such a view reaffirms the belief that ‘the root of conflict [between diverse groups of people] is seen as misunderstanding of differences, rather than inequitable power relations’ (May and Sleeter, 2010:4). This view, despite gaining wide criticism, has been predominant in British, not only Scottish, education for decades (see for example Kustatscher, 2016).

In this study, involving mostly ‘good practice’ schools, teachers did not universally adopt a critical view on tokenistic, harmful multicultural practices. Teachers with little or no prior theoretical knowledge of the topic enacted uncritical, stereotypical cultural ‘celebrations’ in their practice, some only occasionally, but some more regularly. Many used the term ‘multiculturalism’ as a slogan without trying to unpack its theoretical basis, perhaps in the absence of a better alternative. Others though, who were more critical, acknowledged that children’s social identity is much wider than the concept of culture, therefore disliked the term multicultural education for being too narrow. This reflects McLaren’s (1997, cited in May and Sleeter, 2010:6) view that ‘identity choices are structured by class, ethnic and gender stratifications, objective constraints and historical determinations’. Teachers who worried about wider structural forces limiting children’s life chances, especially the effects of social class inequality, did not consider multicultural education as an effective or desired approach in schools. This suggests that multicultural education stood in competition with other aspects of education for social justice.

Antiracism as a concept is largely absent from teacher discourses, with some resistance to it as being ‘too negative’ for children to learn about. If anything, teachers associate antiracism with taking action against racism when they see it happening in schools. It is a strongly reactive viewpoint, identifiable across the range of participants in this study. However, some teachers were visibly uncomfortable discussing ‘race’ and racism, often for fear of offending the ‘other’, or causing upset generally, if they ‘got it wrong’. This is not a new finding, it is rather one that many previous researchers have identified as present in the Scottish context (for example, see Scottish Executive, 2005; Arshad, 2008). Other teachers accepted the existence of racism in society and understood the need to teach children how to stand up to injustice as a principle. What made a difference between those two types of teachers were factors such as

their personal experience of ‘otherness’, for example during their formative years; how much they knew about various aspects of injustice and inequality and finally, to what extent they engaged with policy. Those teachers who worked in schools where there were explicit policies on ‘race’ equality, where the language of ‘race’ and racism was visible, were found to be more at ease using that language themselves. This point will be returned to shortly.

However, on the whole, teachers did not acknowledge the presence of systematic, institutional and structural racism as possibly present in their own settings. Even teachers who talked about teaching children in a way that prepares them to be citizens of the world, able to stand up for justice and equality, referred to the personal dimensions of discrimination. Many preferred to use a ‘milder’, ‘sanitised’ language (Arshad, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2011) of diversity, celebration of cultures and educating children about differences between people and countries and that in the end, we are all not that different/ the same/ equal. Fairness and equality were considered as aspects of individual choice and something that children can all learn at school. Some teachers, however, brought children’s attention to systemic inequality in different societies, but not necessarily in Scotland, remarking how ‘lucky’ children should feel that they live here.

Diversity, similarly to the concept of culture, was often taken for granted, neither unpacked nor problematised. Teachers are simply not used to considering what culture consists of. In those classrooms where there were few or no minority ethnic pupils, teachers understood diversity as multifaceted, complex, but quite a ‘natural state’, naming diversity in terms of social class, ability, gender, additional support needs and maybe having English as an additional language. But in those classrooms where minority ethnic children were actually present, diversity was either invisible, diminished, or reduced to religion, sometimes nationality, perhaps also having English as an Additional Language. These markers of difference were not universally noted between teachers; however recognition of minority ethnic children’s identities does seem to be dependent on their religious affiliation and their nationality, as something easy to spot and name. It is suggested here that the conflation of religion and culture is an area that requires more debate and clarity. This is a finding which

needs to be problematised and further examined in future research (see also Macdonald, 2012; and Riddell et al, 2013).

Discussing the complexity of human identity is not something most teachers routinely do. Most of the teachers in the multicultural schools of this study ignored children's developing identities and resorted to 'celebrating' undefined, stereotypical aspects of foreign cultures. Youdell's (2004) discussion of the '**performative constitution of identity**' is useful to consider, when talking about developing Scottishness in schools. It seems that the more diverse the class is in terms of language or ethnicity, the stronger desire for sameness. This was evident, for example, in the case of the French speaking bilingual child in Meadowland Primary. Further examples of children's need to blend in and teachers' uncertainty about how to react to it were seen in Hillview and St. Clara's.

If a teacher has an opportunity to develop an understanding of issues of difference, or demonstrates a personal interest in issues of diversity, then he or she is able to include meaningful exploration of what makes us who we are, with the whole class, no matter who is represented and who is not. Such teachers are able to cross the identity intersections and also consider characteristics such as gender, social class, sexuality, age, maturity, and so on, as well as the 'unfinished', 'work in progress' nature of anybody's sense of self. Gewirtz (2006:69) draws our attention to the contextualised and mediated nature of just practices, stressing that 'social justice in education has to be understood in relation to particular contexts of enactment'. Here I propose that it is not only the school and the classroom that make this context; but also 'other norms and constraints that motivate actors' (ibid), inherent in teachers themselves and in the society, in pursuit of critical multiculturalism in primary schools.

Minority ethnic children's language skills continue to be tainted by a deficit lens, with the use of other/home/first language and the many advantages of multilingual learners' skill sets not always capitalised on. In the discourse on language and difference, bilingualism was seen to be sometimes conditionally appreciated – not an issue if the pupils' English is developing fast enough. Other teachers were found to encourage the use of minority ethnic children's first languages in order to help achieve literacy goals. Rarely did these teachers grasp opportunities

for treating the ‘other’ in their class as a valuable language resource. There were some examples of teachers incorporating children’s unique cultural knowledge in class; however these were initiated by teachers whose commitment to critical multicultural education was the strongest and often based on their personal dispositions and their experience.

To summarise how teachers conceptualise the two key terms of this research study, multicultural education is often understood as a very general, uncritical ‘understanding different cultures’ and less often as something closer to intercultural education, which presupposes mutuality and exchange of knowledge, values and attitudes in an attempt to reconcile differences, increase the commonality of experience and move together to a new, changed future.

Antiracist education (and by some stretch also education for ‘race’ equality) means teachers taking practical action to address racial discrimination, but not necessarily acknowledging that oppression is systemic, that inequality can be challenged at the level of a single class teacher, that skin colour continues to determine children’s life chances in Scottish society, and finally that minority ethnic children and their families can be the best resource and guides for teachers in their practice.

In other words, some teachers’ conceptualisation of social justice in education bears elements of misrecognition (Young, 1990; Fraser, 1997) while other, activist and knowledgeable teachers can practise social justice without cultural domination, being able to make a real difference in their micro-level spaces of influence (Benjamin and Emejulu, 2012) if they adopt a social model of difference (Oliver, 1990), ‘based on the values of equality, dignity and respect’ (Benjamin and Emejulu, 2012: 46).

10.3 Policy influences on teacher conceptualisation of terminology of ‘race’ equality

This thesis argues that there is a link between teacher approaches to racism, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and what they have been exposed to and are used to, in terms of: policy, structural boundaries, directions at school level and also their own characteristics

and dispositions. Before I move on to consider those three levels of influence in relation to the literature, I would like to remain with the aspect of terminology. To what extent does teacher knowledge of 'race' equality policies in Scotland, or perhaps the wider teachers' embeddedness in the national discourse of 'race' equality, contribute to the continued, confused picture of theoretical understanding of principles and practices, as described earlier in this section?

As was discussed in Chapter 4 in detail, the phenomenological perspective on meaning making stresses the link between the way in which people construct their knowledge (socially, contextually, and as a result of direct experience), and the limits to which that meaning can be expressed through the chosen forms of language. Because all forms of language used when talking about multicultural and antiracist education are, for me, 'foreign', ones which I have grappled with for a long time and continue to do so, I see how much any terminology is dependent on people's interpretation of its meaning. To repeat Holstein and Gubrium's view 'meanings are essentially indexical, that is they depend on context' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1998:142); therefore the researcher must closely investigate what are the elements of that context. I suggest a number of possible cause and effect relationships as to how teacher understandings of the key terms, discussed above, are shaped by education policy developments.

Firstly, there is no evidence to suggest that teacher's age is a determinant of understanding of 'race' equality issues in education. Older and younger class teachers have similar difficulties defining terms and talking about racism. The difference between those teachers who are confident in their commitment to equality and justice and those who see the purpose of education as situated elsewhere, stems from their beliefs and attitudes more than policy direction. However, my findings suggest that those teachers who were engaged in co-creating school policies on racial equality, or those teachers who worked in schools with very strong leadership on the matter, where the Head teacher was likely to use terms such as 'race' and ethnicity with their staff, were more likely to use that language with understanding themselves. This is still a long way away from debating 'race' and racism in the classroom, but in my view a small, yet important factor.

Secondly, conversations about diversity (a popular, ‘friendly’ term) in my research were often centred on religion, nationality, EAL and ‘race’, rather than other concepts or even aspects of children’s multiple identities, because they are the terms that teachers are surrounded by and hear all the time. Ethnicity, or being from a minority ethnic group, does not feature in teachers’ vocabulary much. The term Black and Minority Ethnic (BME, or sometimes BAME) is also confusing and avoided by many teachers. It is widely used by the Scottish Government and its multiple agencies for statistical purposes, including in community education settings. However, some argue that it is inaccurate in 2016 Scotland, as it does not represent the current ethnic diversity mix, especially the white, non-visible minorities, for example Polish people. Interestingly, some EAL teachers in Sand City still use the acronym, but to mean Bilingual and Minority Ethnic. The authority’s EAL Service has taken steps more recently to encourage its teachers to use a language of diversity accounting for ethnicity and critical awareness of racialised discourses, as opposed to taking shortcuts through acronyms which in time lose or change their meanings.

A similar point could be made about ‘celebrating diversity’ – a phrase which has by now lost all of its potentially positive meaning, becoming a cliché and leading to misrecognition of difference. I suggest that class teachers think about language in deficit terms also because the education system provides them with *specialist support* for this *additional need*. Costley and Leung (2013) argue that EAL as a label is not neutral, but a deficit term in itself. They also argue for a critical engagement with policy on supporting bilingual learners, which would include investigating the meanings of various key policy words as an ongoing professional conversation in education. If all Scottish local authorities had teams of specialists called Bilingual Teachers, as opposed to EAL Services, would that help change attitudes, or would a deficit view of bilingualism prevail, since many Scottish teachers see EAL as somebody else’s responsibility (Foley, 2010)?

In teachers’ thinking about their diverse classrooms, minority ethnic children are being quickly assigned to groups. For example, Muslim children especially are identified on the basis of their family’s religion more so than any other, possibly more relevant characteristics, such as gender or even country of origin. This is not entirely surprising, as Islamophobia is on the rise in

Western societies, yet it is still surprising to see the extent to which teachers label some children more than others, often without even realising. Polish, (mostly) Catholic children are much less often described in terms of their faith first, unlike Muslim pupils, or those who look like they could be Muslim (Hopkins et al, 2015). As some teachers indicated that they believed that children from a very young age should be taught about discrimination, made aware that people can be nasty to one another, and should learn how to take a stance against prejudice, it is surprising to find that racial discrimination and Islamophobia is rarely discussed in class. This would require teachers taking a political stance, and being courageous about discussing current developments in the arena of international politics. However, all children are exposed to the news. If schools can take a stance towards natural disasters and turn it into positive action, why should they not do the same with human-caused atrocities, which the children are well aware of?

It is easier to talk about somebody's religion or nationality in a set, unchanging state, than to acknowledge the value and meaning assigned to such labels by the majority groups (Byram, 2003). Therefore this study found that nationality was often mentioned in class in very essentialising ways, defining people by this one aspect of their identity. All the complexities of layering aspects of identity in the context of migration is not something that teachers tend to take opportunities to discuss in any systematic way. Although I have witnessed a set of lessons critically tackling exactly that topic in a Primary 5/6/7 class, there is no incentive or push from the local authority or above to encourage that conversation in schools. Studying how identity develops, or what it means to be a citizen of a country in which you are an immigrant (or a child of immigrants) would be a fitting response to hearing assimilationist discourses in the media and on the political Right. Teachers should not be afraid of critiquing any culture, as no culture/country/nation is perfect. Being assimilated into a new culture remains a goal for many newly arriving parents and children. Perhaps teachers could encourage their pupils to consider whether defining anybody by one, bold label, whether it is their gender, sexuality, faith or whatever, is at all a helpful and just thing to do. Similarly, the Responsible Citizen from the Curriculum for Excellence is not only white and Scottish, yet from my interviews and observations in classrooms I could only see a nationalistic view of

children's identity and inconsistent efforts to probe its complexity. Those teachers who wanted to do this kind of work, really struggled to fit it into the curriculum.

Finally this thesis suggests that the stubbornly persistent category of 'race' itself, omnipresent in national and local authority policies, continues to legitimise the notion of 'race' as a concept. Current legislation inherited the language of 'Race Relations' (see also Chapter 3) and continues to promote it, listing 'race' as one of our 'protected characteristics'. Ethnicity is rejected, which further essentialises human nature. Critical Discourse Analysts advocate that discourse has the power to maintain or subvert existing social structures. Ideologies are frozen in language and can construct, as well as reflect, social injustice (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Racism undeniably negatively affects life chances, in Scotland as elsewhere, and teachers are aware of that fact. But most of them cannot relate to how it feels to be affected by racism as it is not present in *their* lives; therefore they neglect this whole discourse (Arshad, 2012). Critical Race Theorists and a growing number of teacher educators argue that we must consider what labels are being given to people and by whom, in order to expose and disrupt unequal power relations. What makes up our ethnicity is more complex than stereotypes and common-sense knowledge. Teachers must help pupils unpack what labels such as 'race', ethnicity, and culture can mean, to challenge the normativity of whiteness and examine in what ways our own characteristics and choices contribute to the systemic oppression of minority groups (Bowler, 2013; Garrahan and Werkmeister Rozas, 2013; Hegarty and Titley, 2013).

This study's findings suggest that primary school teachers, themselves white, middle class, and monolingual, are likely to find it challenging to relate all aspects of identity to issues of power and oppression. Teachers in this study were either in part, or wholly uncomfortable talking about 'race' and racism with me, a researcher, which suggests that they would be even more uncomfortable discussing such adult, sensitive issues with children. However, teachers are forced to react to racist incidents, when they happen. This way, racism does get discussed in schools, if intermittently. 'Race' as an example of a system of oppression does not.

Teachers themselves do not have sufficient knowledge to talk about personal, structural and institutional racism and other forms of discrimination and their resulting injustice. The

Equality Act 2010 defines ‘race’ in terms of colour, nationality, ethnic origins and national origins, but teachers are not supported in reflecting on these terms. As a result, some teachers confuse ‘race’ with religion, and ethnicity too often remains an implicit category. I propose that the only reason teachers keep talking about ‘race’ is because they see this term in education policy, in legislation, the UK Census and a plethora of statistical tools categorising people by arbitrary, colour- or geographical origin-based groups. Collecting statistics on racial discrimination can be seen as helping target interventions to tackle it, with monitoring by ethnic or racial groups as a matter of recognitional and redistributive justice. However, the continued use the language of ‘race relations’ may not actually contribute to helping teachers notice issues of power and oppression as systemic, affecting their schools and communities. It might actually negatively affect the discourse and individual teachers’ perspectives on social justice, although it is beyond this thesis to provide any more commentary on this issue. This is another area identified for future research.

What has been noticed in this study, however, is that the Curriculum for Excellence does not direct pupils to study colonialism and the history of how these terms came about. ‘Race’ equality remains, in the schools presented in my study, an understudied, underdeveloped concept, misunderstood also by many teachers, who do not even wish to use this term. The ideals of intercultural education and critical multiculturalism, have not reached Scottish schools. Critical multiculturalism as a theory is also unknown, with this critical aspect of teaching generally lacking a focus on discussing power and systemic privilege and oppression. There are some positive developments, for example Critical Literacy and Critical Pedagogy are slowly finding their way into some teachers’ practice (see Foley et al, 2013) but evidence for this is limited in this this research. A framework such as Productive Pedagogies (Hayes et al, 2006), currently being taught at some Initial Teacher Education institutions, could be useful in practice and in the development of teachers’ critical standpoints on the aim of education in general. However, this study’s findings suggest, that even in those schools which are considered most equitable, critical multiculturalism and explicitly antiracist education are still the exception, not the norm.

Only the most experienced, promoted teachers spoke about how policy and its language change over time. Three Head teachers remarked how with the changing terminology, practices change, as well as what is considered appropriate in how schools treat difference. Of the class teachers, it was again two of the oldest and most experienced, who were able to reflect on their own understandings of the language of equality. Finally, the two EAL teachers and all of the Key Informants interviewed for this study deliberated whether the perceptions of ‘race’ and ethnicity had changed over time in Scotland and the UK, and what this depended on. They all used the language of policy fluently, although they often remarked that any current ‘race’ equality policy aims were too narrow, bringing the topic of all conversations decisively back to questioning the aims of education in the broadest sense possible, a point which I will return to.

10.4 The process of policy mediation across nested cases: from national and local authority policy to the classroom reality

In this research, I set out to explore how teachers engage with educational policies, hoping to be able to comment on the wider question of the usefulness of educational policy in practice in the field of equality. I was interested in whether teachers have a certain policy ‘meta-knowledge, the core of educational literacy’ (Scott, 2000:3). My hypothesis was that teachers are at least generally aware of the major equality-related educational policies and accept their place in the national, local authority and school system. I believe teachers are in a way used to having policy determine large aspects of their practice. For example, the curriculum is often accepted by teachers, even if considered ‘too full’, as a structure they must follow. Identifying how critical teachers are of any school or higher level ‘race’ equality policy was one of the aims of my study.

It is not surprising to suggest that the process of policy translation/mediation from the macro, through the mezo to the micro levels of education is incredibly complex and varies across contexts. The policy guidance in Scotland has never been very clear (Arshad, 2012; see also Chapter 3). Additionally, since 2010 local authorities have been, at least in theory, working with schools to make them aware of the changes in legislation and to support them in updating

their own antiracist policies. As shown in the Findings chapters, this picture is not even consistent within local authorities. It might fully depend on the school leadership and the understanding and commitment of the Head teacher, as a key figure in influencing how meaningful and how useful any policy document might be for teachers. English as an Additional Language staff may also play a key role, as champions and key advisers for school improvement, at least in schools where they are valued and their voices are heard.

As shown throughout the Findings chapters, knowledge of the Equality Act and ‘race’ equality policies amongst teachers is largely non-existent. However, on the whole, many teachers do understand ‘race’ equality as both: a ‘moral value or principle’ and ‘a measurable outcome’ (Richardson, 2003, cited in Arshad, 2012:194). Arshad (2012) argues that practice based on both those understandings can be effective. Prohibiting discrimination based on the ‘protected characteristics’ specified in the Equality Act 2010, is what teachers widely described as their professional understanding of what a teacher’s role is, without actually referring to the legislation or policy at any level. However, they spoke of equal opportunities more than of equal outcomes. Additionally, the need for pro-active education for racial equality, enshrined in legislation and policy, was entirely absent, despite declarations being made in principle. As demonstrated throughout the Findings chapters, teachers did not see themselves as ‘policy deliverers’.

However, it was also hard to judge whether teachers were resistant to policy, just unaware of it or choosing to ignore it. Teachers working in schools where a strong, inclusive ethos of fairness and positive pupil-staff relationships was visible, all acknowledged that any policy direction from above was taken up by the Head teacher, who promoted such policy values in their school without necessarily using policy documents themselves. Levels of ownership of school policy among class teachers were also very low, as in reality few documents were created collaboratively. However, those teachers who were actively following political developments in Scottish education; those who read widely and understood teacher professionalism as involving a requirement to keep up to date, were more at ease with discussing at least the principles behind critically multicultural education. Lankshear (1997:72) describes knowledge of policy as ‘knowledge about what is involved in participating

in some discourse(s). It is (...) knowing about the nature of [a particular discursive] practice, its constitutive values and beliefs, its meanings and significance'. As discussed already, teachers involved in this study did not participate in shaping the discourse of education for 'race' equality, neither were they really aware of its significance. Whether their practices reflected a critically multicultural attitude or not, all teachers struggled to demonstrate an understanding of any policies relating to 'race' equality. This suggests that the breakdown of communication or translation of meaning of such education policies is nearly complete by the time it reaches class teachers.

However, it is suggested that there are various opportunities at the authority level, not necessarily stemming from the Public Sector Equality Duty, to encourage school improvement and good practice amongst teachers. Initiatives such as UNICEF's Rights Respecting Schools and other work based in the recognition of Children's or Human Rights can be a meso-level direction. Anti-bullying initiatives aimed at all children, built around relationships, nurture groups or emotional health and wellbeing, can again be accessed through the authority-level CPD sessions. I suggest that the most power lies with the school management and the individual teachers, though, which constitutes an important finding of this study.

To summarise, no standalone mechanism for introducing policies from the local authority to the school level was identified. The standardised approach seems to be that the decision on how to implement policies into schools' practice rests with the Head teachers. Some of them truly dare to be different and create school policies which are potentially more meaningful than any other central policy document. These are usually products of a partnership between various school stakeholders, either children or parents (as seen in Meadowland and Hillview primaries), and sometimes with teacher input, although this is even more rare. In the ideal world, adults would listen to the children themselves, who have been shown to want to engage with contemporary racialised discourses (Hopkins et al, 2015). There are still too few schools which allow children to influence their own education, including them in shaping policies which affect their lives and thereby treating children as competent citizens now, not in the making. Examples from Hillview Primary have shown that possibility, although as the children themselves were not a part of this research, only suggestions based on teacher perspectives

can be offered in this thesis. The likely social consequences of this participatory approach to policy production are that they better reflect children's needs and interests and can become truly implemented in practice, with children acting as policy guardians on their own, school, turf.

10.5 Teachers' characteristics and dispositions as factors influencing agency

This section draws out some of the most interesting findings from across the case study schools, to show how teacher attitudes affect their practices, and ultimately children's learning experiences (Peiser and Jones, 2014).

Teachers' prior knowledge: their travel, experiences, education and exposure to different cultural backgrounds were all identified by Smith et al (1997) as factors enabling development of positive attitudes to difference. The majority of the nine teachers did not have much experience of diversity, yet they all saw the influence of personal experiences in their own formative years on their current understanding of the social world. Teachers' personal and professional lived experiences have been shown to impact on their practice (see the discussion in Chapter 2). Teachers in this study assigned powerful meanings to a range of their lived experiences, as was shown in each Findings chapter's introduction of participants section. Some teachers and Head teachers shared tales of encountering difference for the first time; some had witnessed or experienced discrimination in their own lives. All those instances were assigned meaning and became some of the most vibrant memories for those teachers, which they themselves claimed had influenced their identity and their sense of right and wrong. As already discussed in Chapter 2, people enhance their own sense of self and self-knowledge, learning not to compare themselves in opposition to the other, but to move the 'centre of interaction' with the other to the borderland, the in-between, the places which 'join them rather than divide them' (Alred et al, 2003:4). It was easy to find out from those nine teachers, four Head teachers and two EAL teachers who did and who did not have some kind of personal story close to their heart. Those who did, shared them immediately. Whether it was their mother baking a cake for newly arrived, black neighbours in the 1960s; remembering the

multitude of languages spoken in an international school by multilingual children in Asia; teaching Aboriginal children in the Outback at the beginning of their teaching career; or feeling discriminated against in high school because they were openly religious, teachers were strongly influenced by those events. Arshad (2008:v) believes these experiences allow teachers to develop 'a 'vested interest' in the area of antidiscrimination work'. Similarly, Byram (2003) credits intercultural experience as meaningful for crossing the frontiers of oneself in the direction of the Other.

This also influenced whether teachers treated difference as visible or invisible (Arshad et al, 2005). Those teachers who continued to live sheltered, comfortable lives of privilege, with no knowledge of multiculturalism, were prone to distancing themselves from their ethnically and linguistically diverse pupils, and becoming what Pearce (2005) calls 'the problem' themselves. They did not make efforts to find out about children's countries of origin, their beliefs, customs or languages. Worse, they choose to be colour-blind, often in a misguided belief that this is the most inclusive and 'fair' way to treat children (as was explained in Chapter 2).

Initial teacher education did not equip teachers to teach different world views, calling into question the Professional Standards and expectations put on new teachers by the General Teaching Council for Scotland. EAL Teachers also remarked that the onus for taking up critically multicultural education should not rest solely on individual teachers, but that their professional practice should be supported in its development by highly inclusive and antidiscriminatory standards of the whole education system. In practice, this does not always work. Santoro et al (2016) have shown that even student teachers engaging in international exchanges, for example volunteering in schools in Africa, upon return still hold mostly deficit views of their host institutions and teachers, with charity views of developing countries strengthened, not challenged. Questions of why teachers can not engage in exchanges with a whole range of countries are usually rebutted by stating that Scots do not speak any foreign languages and that it is impractical and extravagant to expect them to learn from others. As shown in the Findings, some of the nine teachers did have experiences working abroad, and those teachers could not recommend it more to go and experience living in an entirely different context. With a mind-set open to difference, they learned from these unique encounters. It is

hard to say definitively, though, what is cause and what effect in those cases, yet a relationship is undeniable.

This discrepancy between teachers' prior knowledge, beliefs and personal experiences was visible when comparing teachers' practices in this research. It would be tempting to try to categorise teachers on the axis of how many opportunities they had been seen to take in their classes to build on sharing about themselves and their uniquely multicultural life experiences. This would not, however, be very fair. All teachers were somewhere on a continuum, yet their spots were not fixed. What is important to stress is that all teachers can choose to get to know about their pupils and not be afraid of, for example, drawing the class's attention to their difference (thinking it would be unwelcome or rude)..

Teacher beliefs are context-bound and influential on their practice (Farrell, 2004), with a strong correlation between teachers personal and professional beliefs discussed in the literature (Gaine, 2001; Pearce, 2003, May and Sleeter, 2010). Teachers of the dominant ethnicity are not generally best equipped to teach diverse pupils (Ladson-Billings, 2001), but they can learn how to use robust, intersectional perspectives on difference and otherness, resulting in them not being afraid to make them visible and use them as an asset (Gaine, 2005). Otherwise, white Scottishness will continue to prevail in how teachers undertake all children's citizenship education and influence their identity formation. In such event, how can teachers be expected to stop wanting children to *fit in*, or assimilate into any culture? It is a paradox – cultural accommodation is seen as positive, but rarely a two-way process. Unfamiliarity with difference is problematic amongst many groups of privileged, majority teachers, who may confuse sameness and equality as a result.

However, those teachers who were clearly committed to wider social justice issues in education, for example Natasha and Kelly, helped their pupils generate world views which extended beyond Scotland and their local communities. Those teachers helped pupils *believe less* and *think critically more*, teaching them a variety of views and stressing the need to be critical. Such commitment to social justice, equality and inclusion has been linked to teachers believing in their own power as agents of change.

There is now a vast area of studies on teacher agency and an activist mind set (some of which was introduced in Chapter 2). The theory of agency devised by Archer (2000, who drew in her work on Giddens, 1984) is often applied to educational research. Understanding agency as having sense of purpose, competence, autonomy and the ability to be reflexive sits well with the critical realist perspective that this study is built on. Giddens' theory of 'structuration' stresses reflexivity as a vehicle for emancipation from structural boundaries. Knowledge of self but also of social forces shaping our local and global communities are therefore linked again with teacher professionalism and manifest themselves through, for example, creativity and reflexivity.

This is all part of a bigger wrangle against being seen as deliverers of the curriculum (Apple, 1993). Many teachers are prepared to break the boundaries around them, for example by fitting specific curricular expectations to suit their chosen topics. Few are prepared to accept the challenge of lack of time – in this research only Natasha spoke about being able to prepare complex resources (as she has no family care responsibilities and works part time), and Kelly, also a part-time teacher, spent a lot of her time reading widely. Breaking other organisational barriers or the constraints of the school climate is also attributed to agency by teachers like Alina, who took the opportunities she saw in her classroom to build up minority ethnic children's confidence and help the whole class foster a sense of diverse community (other organisational barriers are discussed in the next section of this chapter).

Other teachers resolved to (or resigned to) teaching what was expected of them and stayed within the prescribed roles and activities. Scotland's teachers would like to see themselves as agents of change, inspiring their pupils to make the world a better place, but when it came to 'race' equality, they relegated the responsibility to others. In considering how teachers team-teach and co-plan, we can look at Andy and Adrianna, who planned Primary 7 lessons together, which meant that Andy taught content which otherwise might not have found its place in his class. Similarly, Bridget learned from the more experienced Kelly and Natasha how to include critical multicultural content within the curriculum. It is not possible to know how sustained this kind of work would be in schools where such teachers do not have the lead of a committed and knowledgeable teacher or Head teacher, as shown by the example of Fiona, who did not

engage in any kind of multicultural or antiracist education beyond the tokenistic approaches promoted by the school. Key Informants in this study all stressed the need for every school to have strong, key people to sustain critically multicultural work, with leadership ‘flying the equality flag’ in the hope that teachers’ hearts and minds will be won over and they ‘will want to do it for its own sake’ (Mary, Key Informant).

Teachers who understand the complexities of striving for social justice; who believe it is possible to challenge injustice in their daily practices; who enact that belief being in a position to make autonomous decisions about their practices; and finally who have the capacity to analyse their practice within their institutional setting are truly agents of change. Allowing or enabling teachers to consider the broader aims of education as part of their professional, reflective and reflexive practice is crucial. This also relates back to teacher professionalism and points to another paradox in teachers’ lives. If teachers see themselves as professionally neutral, apolitical and preferring to demonstrate a variety of viewpoints to their pupils (or for example to respect all religions and treat all people fairly; a point supported by Ginsburg et al, 1995) they may lack the courage to take an overtly political standpoint with young children. However, this is a necessary step in order to be able to challenge discrimination and oppression, which are systemic and not confined to individual perspectives. As Sachs (2003) put it, teachers who want to challenge the hegemonic status quo need to become activists, ready to see the world in a pluralistic way, themselves and their pupils as part of a wider human community, and most importantly be ready to face risks associated with political action.

In a recent small scale study, Pantic et al (2016), as part of a project at the University of Edinburgh examining student teacher perceptions of their roles as agents of social justice, found that student teachers believe that agency is part of their role. Questions need to be asked whether this bears truth in reality. One Key Informant in this study, Sabina, reflected on her work on equalities with teachers in Sand City, and observed that the younger teachers tend to be ‘less challenged’ by what education for ‘race’ equality requires of them, than older teachers, who can be much more resistant. However, the findings of this study do not support the view that younger teachers are more likely to act on the belief that they are agents of change for social justice, quite the opposite. Some were insecure about their professionalism and how far

they could use their agency in the classroom, feeling that the curricular requirements placed on them overshadow their professional judgement. Villegas and Lukas (2002) present a theory of teacher roles as a continuum between being ‘technicians’ and agents of change. They state that schools can be seen by teachers as anything between neutral settings, where equality of opportunity can translate to equality of outcome, and spaces which fully reflect social inequality and where those inequalities must be addressed and where teachers take a stance and usually move on this continuum throughout their careers. Examining when beginning teachers dare to be activists is another area for possible future research investigations.

To sum up, openness to new experiences, courage to be an activist and to value difference, sustained reflexivity, rejection of an apolitical stance and a strong sense of social justice are seen as essential teacher dispositions to take on multicultural and antiracist education in their practice. This is not a new finding (see also Garmon, 2004), but one that resonates well with the aims of critically multicultural, or intercultural education underpinning this study.

10.6 Structural boundaries governing teacher practice at the local authority and the school level

The nested case study design allowed me to analyse how much of the difference between teachers is due to the organisational contexts of their work, namely the school and authority-specific factors. In this section, I consider the local authority direction and its manifestation in how far the teachers feel supported to achieve a common goal of ‘race’ equality. I emphasise the roles of school leadership as well as those of other key personnel, such as specialist EAL or Traveller Education Services.

Initially, I was interested to see whether there is any difference between urban and rural schools, which have a different composition of pupils. I found no evidence for better practice in schools with more ethnic diversity. In fact, it was evident from schools such as Meadowland that teachers can be critically multicultural in absence of multiculturalism in their community. On the other hand even schools with a substantial minority ethnic proportion of pupils can act

in a way that is solely reactive to discrimination, with teachers holding deficit views of difference.

Moreover, the data does not support any notion of a difference between the type of teachers working in rural and urban schools. In the former, the teachers themselves may have come from rural parts of the country, yet because Lakeshire is a populous local authority and is not remote, all of its teachers had qualified in large cities, and some had had experiences of teaching in a variety of contexts. Therefore, the data from this study does not allow to infer that rural schools are any different in their practice due to their geographical location or low numbers of minority ethnic children. Rather, teacher practices are dependent on their own characteristics and dispositions, as discussed in the previous section, as well as some strong influences at the school level, manifesting themselves in embedding and mainstreaming of critically multicultural values through the school ethos and other aspects of its daily life, which are now going to be discussed.

A distinct school ethos, based in the values of inclusion, social justice, and nurture can support teachers in being agents of change, all the time working towards shaping the children into courageous young people as a result of their primary education. It is a precondition of such a perspective that it is never too early to start teaching children criticality and openness to difference.

One way of doing this is identified as through modelling such values and behaviour. It is a point supported by research (see for example Weber and Mitchell, 1996), with Arshad (2008:129) stating that ‘children consciously or unconsciously observe and absorb the images and experiences of their childhood which linger and shape their orientations and identities as people of the future’. This point is also relevant for making a stronger case for highlighting the diversity of Scottish pupils in the classroom and thereby making difference an ordinary and valued aspect of human life, especially in schools with little or no ethnic diversity, so that ‘modelling’ values is not limited to an unfocused and uncritical sense of fairness and respect, as was seen in the leadership of the Catholic school in this study. In such cases as this, the space for ‘race’ equality is hard to find, as it is thwarted by the desire to promote a religious

ethos *instead* of one based on human or children's rights or philosophical orientations to difference.

The most successful way for teachers to develop critically multicultural practice is through coordinated, whole school approaches. In such schools, the Head teacher's role is crucial, but other individuals can also effect change, for example if the teachers' voices are strong in the school and if the activist teachers are heard. Sharing practice and helping each other be reflexive was identified by the teachers as most motivating but sadly something which rarely took place. Such whole school approaches might aid professional collaboration, but as already discussed, respectful and egalitarian relationships between staff, as well as between staff and pupils, seem to be a crucial component of critically multicultural practice. All Head teachers in this study stressed the importance of 'being a team', promoting and living shared values. Only St. Clara's main values of fairness and equality based in the Catholic ethos seemed to somewhat limit their capacity to present a variety of worldviews to their pupils (and were also out of line with the specialist support staff, who were not all Catholic. This meant that these values could not be truly shared by all staff). In the three other schools, under the Head teachers' direction, no single worldview was privileged, in spite of a broadly Christian ethos, which, alongside fostering a strong sense of nationalistic, Scottish identity, was still clearly visible.

The influence of leadership, from the Head teacher and the EAL teams was of crucial importance for schools' improvement. However, it is also important to acknowledge teacher agency in taking responsibility for actions which may have been instigated at school or local authority level. For example, EAL Teachers' commitment to 'race' equality and support to the teachers and the whole school in all matters of diversity was noted as potentially influential on both class teachers and whole school actions/improvement plans. However, ultimately each class teacher and each Head teacher had the power to decide how far they would take such guidance. I first offer a historic look at the two local authorities.

The history of engagement with 'race' equality at the level of authority in both Sand City and Lakeshire has not been sustained enough to still bear fruit at the classroom level in any

consistent form. However, there is some evidence to suggest that all four schools had access to knowledgeable and influential specialist support services and used it. In Sand City, the EAL Service was visibly involved in the schools' improvement plans as well as having some impact on the individual class teachers. The school management and especially the Head teacher's lead was crucial at this point, in terms of whether or not the school took up the opportunities highlighted by the EAL teachers. This I know has worked in the long term in school such as St. Clara's, where the sustained focus of the EAL Team on promoting critical awareness of 'race' equality, coupled with a change at the level of leadership, has more recently pushed the school more strongly in the direction that had been outlined by the EAL teachers at the time of this study.

In Lakeshire, the authority's expertise was acknowledged during the Key Informant interview with Walter. He believed that Lakeshire had historically protected its Council funding for education, yet even at the time of this research, in 2011, EAL provision was very limited and nowhere near meeting the needs of schools across the authority. Moreover, he was very worried that due to continued reductions in the authority's budget, funding for what was newly named as *equalities* work was drying up and key personnel were not being replaced when they left. This was acknowledged by all staff in Orchardbrae Primary, who appreciated the specialist support when it was needed (either for children's Traveller or EAL needs), but who also knew too well how limited it was. This led the teachers to become somewhat uncertain, not knowing how much they could rely on specialist support and how much they should 'become specialists' themselves.

The European Commission (2013) delineated the desirable educational support features for newly arriving bilingual learners in schools as including linguistic support, academic support, outreach and cooperation with parents, and intercultural education. Those four components of support are considered a responsibility of all teachers, not just EAL teachers. However, with the global dominance of English becoming a more pronounced issue in Scottish education (SCILT, 2011), the Donaldson Review (Donaldson, 2011) has linked the problem of Scottish teachers not being able to speak foreign languages to their lack of confidence in their ability to teach children with EAL. Referring to modern languages, the Donaldson review

recommended that primary teachers should not necessarily be experts in the area but have 'sufficient understanding to stretch and progress children's learning' (2011:36). However, in terms of support for children with English as an Additional Language, the practice of inclusive classrooms was still a mixed picture in Scotland (Foley, 2010).

Moreover, teachers are usually not aware of bilingual children attending complementary schools in Scotland (McPake, 2006), which prevents them not only from incorporating their achievements into classroom practice, but also from being able to highlight the advantages of bilingualism for all, and especially monolingual, children. It is also a missed opportunity for all children to learn about their classmates' developing cultural knowledge of their country of origin (or heritage) (see also Kenner and Ruby, 2012), which could act as a springboard for 'taming' the fear of 'otherness' by an example relatable to all children in class, thus broadening pupils' experiences of the world' (Legg, 2013:58). The 1+2 Approach to Language Learning is increasingly being seen today as an initiative, of which policymakers have very high hopes to be just that springboard..

Such attitudes have implications for both teachers and learners, relating to how to enhance the motivation to learn languages and develop the cultural knowledge that comes with it in systemic, school-level ways. Pupil agency here is the key, as any individual must be inspired, motivated by something, in order to actively engage in an activity or learning. The nature of this motivation can be integrative or instrumental (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), meaning that the child might want to learn a new language in order to identify with members of the group that speak it (which can work both ways: with native English-speaking children being motivated to learn Spanish, French, Urdu, Polish or Chinese, because their classmates speak that language) or because they would like to travel and see its value, seeking friendships, gaining language and cultural knowledge and so on. Promoting awareness of the possibilities that learning languages can hold, in terms of opening up children's future employment, travel, relationship and many more opportunities (Barton, 2003) is one of the goals of the 1+2 Approach. Gerhards (2014) call this building children's 'transnational linguistic capital'.

But motivation is also described as situated and dynamic (Brown and Dewey, 2012), which means that it depends on the context in which the child is learning, as well as the context of their own family and social background. This is especially important in terms of building children's social capital. Interactions with members of both the minority and the majority ethnic communities, encouraged in school not only by improving the school links with parents, but also by the promotion of language learning to all pupils, relates to strengthening the 'bonding' and 'bridging' concepts (Doughty, 2011) within any population, be it locally or globally understood.

To summarise, structural barriers and opportunities are highly influential on teacher classroom practices, but the nature of those is very complex. 'Race' equality work can take place within the curriculum but the conditions for such work are not universally available. Teachers, Head teachers and other educators, including at the decision making level of the local authority and above, can make those spaces, for example by reference to human rights and children's rights, education for citizenship, global citizenship, sustainability, health and wellbeing, and many more curricular areas, not limited to Circle Time and Religious and Moral Education. Teacher professionalism, creativity and agency, as well as policy direction from above, can make a difference to minority ethnic children's life prospects, but also to the opening up for difference by all pupils, no matter their characteristics. Teachers and Head teachers want to engage in conversations about the aims of education, firmly believing that their and schools' role is not just to prepare future workers by the means of producing measurable results (Oyler, 2012; Carr, 2008; Smyth, 2004). We know that more equitable societies are more socially just, but we also know that social justice is a process and we can never take our eyes off the goal.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter brought together the research findings from four case study schools. By placing them within their local level of influence, I considered the ways in which policy is mediated vertically, from the central and local authority level to schools. Analysis of the findings was also horizontal, across schools and classrooms, accounting for their specific contexts. Bassey

(1999:23) states that all research should ‘recognise the complexity of social truths’ and this chapter attempted to shine a light on the many aspects of teachers’ perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education in Scottish schools.

To bring this chapter to a close, I return to the Research Questions of this study, summarising the findings under each RQ heading.

Teacher understandings of what is meant by multicultural and antiracist education in Scotland vary considerably between individuals. Multicultural education is often understood as learning about other cultures, as separate from the dominant culture and largely a one-way journey. ‘Saris, steel bands and samosas’ approach to multicultural education (Troyna, 1993) is sadly still present in some schools and is accepted in teacher consciousness as harmless and *fun*. It is also within this uncritical understanding of multicultural education that teachers locate opportunities to engage minority ethnic parents in the life of a school.

Antiracist education for many teachers means responding to racist incidents *if* and *when* they happen. Teachers often believe it is not a real problem in their schools, and can be surprised to hear that their pupils exhibit discriminatory attitudes outside of school. Teachers agree in principle that all children should be taught that injustice is worth standing up for, but place this conviction in general teaching about fairness and equality for all, without a critical engagement with structural and institutional patterns of oppression in Scottish and British society.

Education for ‘race’ equality is therefore not high on schools’ and teachers’ agendas, but sometimes a ‘tick box’ exercise. In schools and classrooms where such practices do take place, they are either happening as a result of distinct teacher commitment, or a distinct Head teacher direction which is then successfully taken up by confident teachers. Those members of staff, even if lacking a theoretically well-developed understandings of ‘race’ equality and social justice, dare to ask the big questions about the purpose of education in general. Such teachers locate their work within a conviction that it is essential to their role to reduce inequality of outcome for their pupils. Teaching antidiscrimination to all is still an ambitious task, because

it is not prioritised by the education system as much as equal achievement and attainment levels are.

In the end, in all the structure of education system, equalities are still somewhere at the bottom, no? So how much time and how many resources will go into addressing issues, it's again about the hierarchy and priorities. (Sabina, Key Informant)

Most teachers do not realise that it is not minority ethnic pupils' attainment that is problematic in Scotland; it is the discrimination which children and adults face in their lives due to aspects of themselves which they have no control over. That is why those teachers asking questions about the aims of education in general are successful in their critically-informed practices. As one Key Informant put it:

I think we need to get teachers thinking away from that kind of deficit model, where it is about the individual and their attainment, their access to the curriculum, their language. We have to move it to being about social attitudes, what kind of society we want. (Mary, Key Informant)

Teacher awareness of Scottish 'race' equality education policy is very poor. Teachers do not have confidence in policy in general, feeling that these do not actually address or cover the challenges that teachers face in their day-to-day practice. At the specific point in time when this research was conducted, the Equality Act and the many local authority policies for 'race' equality were largely unknown to teachers. Policies designed to help support bilingual children were also side-lined.

School level policies aimed at addressing 'race' equality were found to be, most often, either invisible or non-existent. Those schools which did have specific antiracist policy involved the teachers or children in their creation. It is suggested that only when the whole school is involved in creating an explicitly antidiscriminatory policy, such policy has a chance of being implemented in the school practice. It is then a case of winning teachers' hearts and minds through a careful and sustained Head teacher's focus. Such institutional direction can be successful in practice. It is worth noting, that other structural, whole-school approaches to

multicultural and antiracist education are wholly reliant on key staff members, ‘flying the equality flag’, to sustain such focus.

Currently, local authority guidance for schools does not reach a typical class teacher, who is not even familiar with its language, rooted in central education policies. On the other hand, the historical discourse of ‘race’ relations and ‘race’ equality does impact on teacher attitudes to racism. Policy documents rarely underpin teacher practice and are in general considered unhelpful. It could be worthwhile to investigate what opportunities Head teachers have to influence policy creation. This aspect was beyond the scope of my study.

Teacher attitudes towards cultural diversity in and outside the school are found to have developed from the earliest personal experiences of those teachers. Teacher attitudes to difference and the Other have usually been created when they were children themselves. It is impossible to divorce the professional from the personal aspects of teacher identity. Therefore, professional knowledge and confidence in taking ‘race’ equality forward is often dependent on teachers’ prior knowledge, but can be developed through the experiences of teaching abroad or forming close relationships with minority ethnic pupils and their families, thus prioritising readiness to learn from encounters with the Other in teacher professional capacity. Too many Scottish teachers are still afraid to ask parents questions, to admit their ignorance of other cultures and ways of life. Some teachers also hold deficit views of bilingualism, which does not fare well for the upcoming implementation of the 1+2 Approach to Language Learning in Scotland. However, there is a number of possible ways to try to resolve this issue, in systemic, policy-led ways, which I capture in Chapter 11.

How do teacher understandings, attitudes and beliefs impact on their practice?

This study found that there is a considerable variation in how teachers approach multicultural and antiracist education in their practice. Many engage in critically multicultural education, without calling it so. Teachers who acknowledge that difference is both enriching and has to be protected were more likely to interweave critically multicultural and antiracist education in

their everyday work. They did it either as part of the curriculum or as naturally occurring, ‘here and there’ types of observations, spotting opportunities coming from the children themselves. Those teachers understood duty of care widely, incorporating the need to teach respect, but also resilience; to examine common stereotypes and counter racism, regardless of their current classroom composition.

Many teachers positioned themselves in the white, middle-class majority. Some uncritically demonstrated a ‘no problem here’ and a colour-blind attitude to difference. Most teachers found it difficult to critically engage with issues of identity and belonging, sometimes failing to notice the complexities of their pupils’ developing sense of self. This could be caused by a lack of critical engagement with nationalism and a bold belief in the egalitarian nature of Scottishness, pushing identity debates to the far back of the list of priorities at schools. However, a growing focus across schools on the issues of Children’s Rights and citizenship education has been found to be potentially helpful to help teachers disassociate themselves from feeling essentially different to their minority ethnic pupils. Many teachers already see their pupils through an intersectional lens; noticing that there are many wider, social forces shaping their lives. This might help teachers realise, and put forward to the children, the commonalities between people, whilst allowing for a true celebration of uniqueness.

Lastly, as it is hard to deny the growing diversity of pupils in Scottish schools, this thesis proposes that with time, more teachers’ attitudes to difference might improve. In the last 12 years, Scotland’s minority ethnic population doubled in size. It has most likely already surpassed the figure of 4% of total population, as stated in Scotland’s Census from 2011. Many Scottish schools now find themselves enrolling more minority ethnic children than ever before, with Scottish-born Polish children having already reached school age. Teachers are also more likely to encounter minority ethnic adults in their lives, extending their own social circles to break the barriers of in-group and out-group separation. This is already visible in Scottish cities, and might lead to a greater opening up to Otherness, perhaps forcing teachers to consider what integration in a society may mean in real terms for both the majority and the minorities.

Most teachers involved in this study say that it is possible and necessary to teach children from the youngest age about fairness and equality. They want to model those values through their practice and some are becoming interested in the reality of life for minority ethnic children in Scotland. Those teachers who are globally and socially aware, and who treat professionalism as looking out for possibilities to be reflexive and creative in their choice of resources in class, find spaces for including diverse world views and bringing children's attention to injustice in the society. Unfortunately, a number of limits placed on them by the system prevents such teachers from being freely able to capitalise on sharing good practice and further developing that of their own.

Other types of opportunities and challenges that teachers face in enacting critical multiculturalism in primary schools will form the beginning of the concluding chapter of this thesis, which I now turn to.

Chapter 11

Conclusions

This thesis explored Scottish primary school teachers' perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education through an examination of individual and structural factors affecting their practice. The specific research interest to uncover teacher understandings of those concepts led me to identify three main themes as emerging from this study.

The first theme centred on primary teachers' own characteristics and dispositions, linking their personal self with their understanding of their own professionalism. Their prior knowledge, attitudes and experiences led them to hold certain values deeply, thus influencing their professional practice in inseparable ways. Similarly, teachers' sense of self as agents of change was found to be linked to their personal values and levels of interest in issues of social justice in general. However, a number of structural boundaries were also found to influence teachers' practice. These were institutional factors, which together formed the second theme of this study, and factors in the wider, systemic and policy context of teachers' lives and work, which were brought together in theme three.

Institutional factors at the level of the school were found to be as influential on individual teachers as those teachers' own dispositions. The directions and opportunities for critical multiculturalism, created and sustained by strong school leadership, bore fruit in classroom practice. However, they may still lead to different levels of critical engagement, because they were mediated by teacher beliefs and characteristics. However, school-level focus on inclusion and equality was a factor greatly contributing to teachers' understanding of their own role. It is argued that those teachers who had an activist mind-set, and worked under the direction of a committed Head teacher, felt more empowered to enact their personal commitment to social justice in the classroom.

Three Head teachers in this study have, fairly recently, brought with them and built up a distinct, inclusive ethos to their schools. This ethos was designed to permeate all school practice and each of the three non-denominational schools have started their journey towards

more equitable, inclusive schools which value difference and teach all children how to stand up for justice. Each one was also at a slightly different point of this journey, as the school's local context as well as the individual teachers added complexity to the way in which whole-school approaches were actually embedding in practice.

The fourth, denominational primary school also had a distinct ethos, one which centred on the promotion of Catholic values and a certain predefined worldview, claiming exclusivity on the values of fairness and respect. At the time of my research, this school had been under the same leadership for a long time and it was suggested that with change at the helm of the school, some change might have followed in the classrooms. However, it is also important to note English as an Additional Language Teachers' efforts and role in improving inclusive classroom practices. The EAL Teachers worked tirelessly to promote models of good practice with minority ethnic children at the level of each classroom, but also attempted to steer the whole school towards improvement in their institutional practice. Again, every teacher mediated those relationships in their own classroom, but because the efforts were truly sustained and the school was continuously reminded of the need to consider 'race' equality, specialist support staff who had worked in this school for a long time observed that the direction it was heading could be described as cautiously positive, and 'better than average'. The fact that it was possible to include in this study wider perspectives on just this one primary school, due to the nature of my own knowledge of its context and its staff, suggests that there are implications for research methodology in studying institutional contexts over a longer period of time and including as many professional perspectives on the institutional context as possible.

Structural boundaries were also categorised into a third theme, as teacher engagement with policy was identified as a factor influencing teacher perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education. This engagement was universally very low and teachers on the whole did not consider policies for 'race' equality as guiding their practice. This study found that the lack of knowledge of equality-related legislation and policies amongst staff contributed to the confusion and unease with discussing its main concepts. Teachers were confident about being inclusive in their practice but less confident about how to take up education for 'race' equality.

Lack of engagement with policy also meant teachers were not aware of the requirement placed on them by law to proactively ‘eliminate racial discrimination’ and ‘promote good relations’ between all children. The only aspect of antiracist education which all teachers were aware of was how to deal with racist incidents *when* they happened, although this study also showed that it was often limited to an uncritical reporting of incidents. Teachers were found to struggle with facing issues of discrimination as systemic and institutional problems, seeing any racism predominantly as an individual fault. It is therefore claimed that policies drafted to promote ‘race’ equality do not have much impact on Scottish teachers, whose practice is governed by the Curriculum for Excellence more than any other policy direction.

This study’s findings took me further than I had anticipated at the start of this project. Initially, I was most interested in exploring aspects of conceptual clarity through exploration of language, discourse analysis, and relating how teachers understood multicultural and antiracist education in their classroom practices. In the course of this study, having identified and explored the *structural vs. individual* dynamic, my attention turned to three other levels of consideration. I will now therefore discuss briefly the ways in which teachers’ conceptualisations of multicultural and antiracist education impact on:

- the opportunities for placing multicultural and antiracist education within the Curriculum for Excellence
- the challenges which teachers face in this line of work in the Scottish context
- and finally offer some reflections on the school-level dynamics of leadership influence on individual teachers, and those teachers’ autonomy, with a commentary on enacting agency in practice.

11.1 ‘Race’ equality and the curricular focus

‘Race’, ethnicity, multiculturalism, multilingualism and other aspects of our identities do not have a dedicated space in the curriculum, where teachers could encourage all children to become familiar with difference and Otherness. Placing the need for teachers to deal with ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, and also with racism and discrimination,

implicitly in the context of Scottish schools leads to great variability between teachers' practice. It also leads to 'race' equality's weak position in relation to the core curricular subjects.

This thesis does not wish to make a case for any kind of separate, 'diversity' lessons. However, if the curriculum does not explicitly mention categories such as 'race' or ethnicity; if it only considers identity in terms of Scottish nationalism; if it is afraid to tackle oppression and discrimination, with its historical roots and contemporary effects, it does not incentivise teachers to take on such issues as part of their daily practice.

This study found that there are many committed teachers in Scottish primary schools already considered as 'good practice' examples. Many are prepared to talk about culture, religion, language and discrimination more, but feel they cannot, as they are bound by the curriculum and pressure to teach to somebody else's expectations. The Curriculum for Excellence can be a vehicle for bringing education for 'race' equality into primary schools, if used creatively. But overall it was found that it is down to individual teachers, their interest and an activist mind set, to pursue it as part of the curriculum.

Current lack of emphasis on inequalities, racism and other forms of discrimination means that teachers either render those invisible, or need to look for content which could lend itself to fit in with pre-set learning outcomes. In this study, it was found that the categories of language and religion were most noticeable to teachers. In multicultural schools, they concentrated on supporting EAL learners (and much less competent bilingual children), in addition to treating minority ethnic children's religion as an important marker of difference, and one that the majority children in class could also 'find out about'. The special case of Polish, mostly Catholic children, stands out here as an example of how Scottish society has moved on with regard to which religious minority is now considered as the Other (Riddell et al, 2013). It appears that being Catholic no longer means you are likely to be discriminated against. In addition, Polish and children of other Eastern European origins are an 'invisible' minority, blending in, and often adopting Scottish accents. Being Muslim, however, is mostly associated with darker skin and hair, and remains inextricably linked with being positioned as the Other

across many other identity markers. People are very quick to categorise and marginalise Muslims in today's society. Even some teachers in this study were found to assume that brown, Muslim children are very religious and speak another language at home, when many are not/do not. There is still a dearth of research in Scotland on minority ethnic children's identity (Konstantoni, 2012), possibly due to the perception that religious discrimination, Islamophobia and extremism are more English than Scottish problems (Arshad, 2008a). It would be difficult for teachers to defend such view in 2016, yet many still hold it.

Moreover, links between bilingualism and identity are often not considered and children seldom get opportunities to explore them in school (see also Moskal, 2014; Welpy, 2010; Conteh, 2006). Post (2015) suggests that in very multicultural schools teachers themselves position their bilingual pupils and ethnic minority communities as 'Other' through neglecting those children's experiences of complementary schools, the vast cultural richness of their lives outside of school and continuously thinking of minority ethnic pupils as 'non-British'. As a result, 'this may pose a particular problem for children who do not feel strongly affiliated to their home languages, countries and culture, as [...] inheritance does not necessarily imply affiliation (Leung et al, 1997)'. At the same time, the continued teacher efforts to help children with EAL 'access the curriculum' and 'fit in' may suggest that teachers truly believe that assimilationist discourses hold true. We need to be careful when we consider that drawing attention to difference can be construed as a positive, valuable experience, and when the dominant discourses of inclusion become unhelpful, as they diminish the benefits of being bilingual and bicultural. Children should be helped in discovering and developing the complex and hybrid nature of who they are, if Scotland is to become a 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' society, or a 'community of citizens and a community of communities' (Parekh, 2000).

As has been shown in this thesis, there is very limited dedicated space for teachers to discuss issues of inequality, discrimination, racism, or complex identity as part of the curriculum. However, teachers in this study did point to cross-curricular opportunities afforded them, if they sought them. Those who are interested in social justice research such options in their own time, not wanting to consider themselves as inflexible deliverers of a set curriculum. Such teachers enjoy planning cross-curricular projects which may sit somewhere within, or

between, Health and Wellbeing, Religious and Moral Education, Personal and Social Education or Education for Citizenship. These projects are reported to be enjoyable and teachers believe they can be engaging for their pupils.

11.2 Challenges for teachers

Dealing with discrimination and racism almost always brings discomfort in schools. It is not easy because it requires teachers to define values which guide them and to consider if there is such a thing as a hierarchy of values in the society, which presumably they should 'pass on' to their pupils. Multicultural and antiracist education are seen as complex and difficult areas no matter what level of education teachers talk about.

At the same time, teachers appear to draw on 'widely circulating discourses' (Cooke, 2008:30) of 'race', often focused on the belief in Scotland as an egalitarian society, thereby positioning racism as something that happens in the US, in England, anywhere but here. Craig (2003) discusses the Scottish belief in egalitarianism as something deeply embedded into the fabric of the society, without evidence to suggest it is the case in reality.

One of the challenges identified by the teachers in this study pertained to trying to understand why racism specifically is to be afforded so much attention in education, when social class inequality clearly affects more children's lives in Scotland. Teachers were often confused as to whether there is a certain 'hierarchy of oppression' (Gillborn, 2015) and whether they should choose one aspect of social justice to concentrate on, over others. Social class inequality has been named by teachers in this study as most affecting children's learning experiences, relationships with teachers and peers and their overall life chances. Homophobia was also identified as a challenge for primary schools. Linguistic diversity continues to be problematic for many teachers, who do not always feel prepared to teach bilingual children. In this context, antiracist and multicultural education were seen as being at the bottom of the list of priorities, if they were not already included in teachers' planning by virtue of other reasons. Intersectional understandings of equality and justice are important and necessary, however this study

suggests that teachers require time and space to read, study and debate those concepts and issues as part of their ongoing professional development.

Gillborn (2015:284) argues that intersectionality may be a concept useful in education only if it does not lead to marginalisation of the concept of 'race' and accusations of 'playing the race card', or even of being racist to white people, whenever racial discrimination is pointed out. He argues that:

If we are to change the racial (and racist) status quo, we must refuse the growing mainstream assertion that racism is irrelevant or even non-existent. A shared analysis of the racism that patterns everyday life can provide a powerful point of coherence for activism and political strategy. [...] At this time, it is more important than ever that we [...] have the courage to say the unsay-able and follow through in our actions. We can use intersectionality, but we must not be silenced by it. (Gillborn, 2015:284)

Rattansi (2011:163) understand interculturalism as an '*emergent process* with no necessary end point'. He argues that it requires funding, but that it:

Cannot by itself address issues of racism, ethnic minority inequalities, nor wider class and gender inequalities which are vital to multi-ethnic civility and the preservation of social bonds in increasingly privatized, consumerist societies facing the challenges of de-industrialisation, separatist regional demands by substate national minorities and drastic cuts to public services. Interculturalism also requires that bridges are built along cross-cutting lines of gender, age and a variety of other identities and interests; it must move away from a world which privileges ethnicity and faith above all other forms of identification. And it leaves untouched the global inequalities which are major drivers of the migration of people from South to North and East to West. (Rattansi, 2011:164)

At present, I found that the majority of class teachers in this study are not confident about talking about the Other, unsure of what language to use, whether there is a 'politically correct' terminology and whether they know it in the first place. They also want to avoid any chance of offending others, especially minority ethnic pupils and parents, and therefore choose not to mention cross-cultural tensions which they might observe in their community or the wider societal discourse on ethnic diversity and social cohesion. This often results in teachers and schools not being able to build strong relationships with minority ethnic parents and leads to further marginalisation of minority ethnic children's experiences.

Finally, a near-universal challenge for teachers was identified as the system curtailing any possibilities and spaces for the discussion of the aims of education by and among class teachers. Head teachers do consider them in their oversight of the schools, but have limited success in involving staff in philosophical debates. This leads me to formulate an emerging finding that encouraging teacher self-reflection and reflexivity, as well as sharing experiences and co-constructing knowledge is only possible if teachers are given time and space for it; for their own professional development. Involving pupil feedback and consultation should also form part of such reflexive practice. Until such time comes, most teachers may continue to try to achieve the 'easy' aspects of multiculturalism, celebrating diversity without a critical component to such work.

11.3 Leadership and teacher autonomy

The influence of leadership was discussed at length in this thesis. Similarly, the deciding influence of teacher characteristics and dispositions, their values and attitudes to difference, was stressed. It is a natural conclusion to draw that if the two forces – Head teachers and class teachers – pull education for 'race' equality in the same direction, teachers can feel truly empowered as agents of change for social justice. This was seen clearly in some examples presented in the Findings chapters of this thesis.

However, in contexts where individual teachers are 'on their own', they can still have enormous power of influence in their classrooms. The factors enabling agency form some important findings from this study.

Beginner teachers struggle the most with conceptualising the limits to their autonomy (see Pantić et al, 2016). This study showed consistently that younger and less experienced teachers questioned their own autonomy over deciding how far they can deviate from curricular and leadership expectations, whereas the more experienced teachers created space for critically multicultural practice on their own accord. Moreover, teachers who had the experience of teaching in vastly different contexts, especially abroad, had a wider understanding of the

possibilities that lie in their hands within the context of their own classrooms, whether the school leadership was pulling them in the same direction or not.

Archer (2000) believes that only agency which is collective can bring about sustained change, which supports the critical realist theory of teachers actively constructing and interpreting their social reality, on which this thesis is built. Archer believes that agency and teacher activism must be coordinated, either at the level of leadership at schools or collectively between the teachers in a school. How strong teacher voices are within their setting will determine how effective their actions for social justice can be. As demonstrated in this thesis, the schools which are most critically multicultural are those where all staff work together towards the common goal.

Teachers make decisions about their actions based on a number of factors, including self-perceptions of their role but also the roles of others in the school. Teachers who ‘delegate’ dealing with discrimination and racism to their Head teacher, as is commonly seen in Scottish schools, fail to acknowledge that they too have the power to affect injustice. They might lack knowledge and confidence in how to tackle racism and believe that it is not their responsibility. However, with a whole school approach to making difference visible and valued, while condemning indifference and prejudice, along with taking consistent, sustained action against discrimination, all schools and teachers have the capacity to eradicate fear of the Other and the resulting oppression.

Teachers in this study perceived some of the challenges and constraints of the curriculum, parental expectations, and their own fear of being excluded or ostracised for action, as constraints on their autonomy. However, they valued committed leadership influence and sometimes even oversight of their practice, across the whole spectrum of teacher professional experience.

11.4 Implications

Having concluded the discussion of this study's findings, I now turn my attention to its implications.

Implications for the Scottish Government centre on its power to steer the discourse of Scottish nationalism towards more multidimensional perspectives. The dominant political discourse of nationalism can possibly adapt to represent changes in the society and therefore include recognition of multicultural identities as part of a just and respectful Scotland (Gewirtz and Cribb, 2008), without necessarily eradicating all tensions which exist on the intersection of nationalism and multiculturalism. Although the proportion of minority ethnic people in the total population is still very small in Scotland, in some cities and most definitely in some primary schools, multiculturalism is becoming the norm. Notwithstanding, a socially just democracy should not be directed by numbers, but by the needs identified in its population.

Currently, the Scottish Government is not very proactive in issuing guidance for schools or in other ways interpreting British equalities legislation to suit Scottish, sometimes localised, needs. The belief that the political discourse about multiculturalism applies to England, but not to Scotland, must be challenged. Scottish education remains neutral and depoliticised, if not conservative, resulting in little concern about addressing cross-cultural tensions through education.

It takes a lot of energy to sustain focus and the momentum within multicultural and antiracist education and drive practices forward. It has been shown that as soon as the focus shifts elsewhere, it almost gives schools and teachers permission to slow down the action on social justice and racial equality. It is pertinent to ask open questions whether this can have something to do with the lack of serious public debate of Scottish national identity. The issue of nationalism has not been at all addressed in the last two decades. The common definition of who can call themselves a Scot is very inclusive – if you live and work in Scotland, you can be considered Scottish. However, the reality quickly disperses with such myths. Taking myself as an example, as soon as I speak and reveal my non-Scottish accent, I am being Othered. The

Scottish Government should seriously consider the very real clash between a rhetoric of diversity and another one: the ‘still no problem here’ (Gaine, 1995) approach to racial equality.

Implications for the local authorities lie in the development of localised understandings of global issues. Bagnall (2015) claims that globalisation continues to influence the politics of identity and to redefine its national, territorial or cultural boundaries. In the Scottish context, locality identities have a strong place in the debate, with the local education authorities being in a position to have an impact on how pupils in schools build their local allegiances and identities.

In the context of a global economic downturn and the resulting policies of financial austerity, local authorities also face the challenge of having to make difficult choices on which services they continue to support. Additional support for learning often becomes the service that bears the brunt of cuts; however, schools do not need to rely on EAL or Traveller education service to preserve that line of work in times of austerity. If the Head teachers and teachers are given the freedom to break the boundaries that the system puts on them and use their agency, at the same time being supported in their ongoing professional development, they may still do well. Of course, the authority’s focus on equalities, or having a key person to ‘fly the equality flag’ from the authority level is invaluable. But realistically, encouraging Head teachers and teachers to review and improve their practice can originate in many sources, some of which will be indicated in the following section.

Implications for teachers and teacher education institutions: There is a need for improvement in teacher education and professional development, to not only include social justice issues, but for an inclusive approach to teaching to permeate those. Both Initial Teacher Education and CPD programmes should help teachers build up a solid level of knowledge about the intersectional nature of inequality and injustice. Predominantly white, middle class, monolingual Scottish teachers have to be sensitised to Otherness, until they realise that issues of racial discrimination, just like classism, sexism and heteronormativity, affect us all.

This could be achieved by building up systematic possibilities for teachers to experience working in places and communities unlike their own. For example, including Socrates Erasmus student exchanges in all teacher education programmes, or incentivising the choice of diverse and geographically remote schools for student teacher practices throughout their study period, could deliberately unsettle student teachers' positionality and promote reflexivity.

Similarly, staff mobility and cross-border cooperation could be promoted for in-service teachers, so that all teachers are aware of the many international opportunities for further training or teaching abroad available to them. For example, the Erasmus + programme affords great flexibility and can include: participation in structured courses or training abroad (including learning new languages); job-shadowing or observation periods at a school or other relevant organisation abroad; and teaching assignments at a partner school, which could expose Scottish teachers to new organisational cultures in different national contexts. Currently a British Council responsibility, it is not being promoted widely within the teaching profession. Education Scotland and the GTCS, but also local education authorities and even Head teachers could play their role in opening up the teaching profession to the world.

Finally, Scottish Higher Education institutions and their Education departments could support more research in the fields of comparative education, philosophy of education and sociology of education. Intercultural competence or intercultural communication seem currently to be, for many teacher educators, reserved for universities' TESOL departments. Additionally, a more recently-identified need to sensitise Higher Education lecturers and tutors to the specific needs of international students working on their degrees in UK institutions rings some alarm bells for me, as it presents a danger of becoming a mirror image of an assimilationist, uncritically multicultural, or even 'no problem here' approach in primary and secondary education sectors. Unless intercultural understanding is perceived as a two-way process in HE institutions, and all staff believe it applies to them, international students will still be treated as students second, and foreign and lacking the English language skills first.

Teacher practice, as the findings of this thesis demonstrate, is context-dependent. Therefore school and teacher improvements need to be context-sensitive too. Leaving key decisions to staff, treating them as professionals, not only accountable for children's attainment in literacy and numeracy, can all be helpful. Allowing staff to ask the Big Questions – about the aims of education, allowing them to be reflexive and share practice as part of their professional development needs to be a matter of higher level policy. Debates on the purposes of education must continue to be held.

A very recent (January 2016) publication from the General Teaching Council (Scotland) addresses just that issue, asking teachers to 're-examine the purpose of education', with reference to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It draws specifically on Goal 4 of the SDGs which is Quality Education and its Target 4:7, which reads: 'By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development'. There are strong echoes of GTC Scotland's Professional Values here (embedded in the Professional Standards), of which respect, social justice and learning for sustainability sit front and centre. It is the role of schools and teachers to make these values alive in their daily practice. The challenge is how to make Education for Sustainable Development help reorient education to meet sustainable outcomes, without adding a new subject or area to the curriculum. This is a goal shared under many headings, such as multicultural and antiracist education, intercultural education, critical multiculturalism or education for 'race' equality in Scotland.

This thesis contributes to debates such as this, which have seldom included a Scotland-specific focus on primary education. Its unique contribution lies in its focus on an under-researched and under-resourced context of Scottish primary schools, where little research on 'race' equality has to date been conducted (last in 2004). Additionally, the core of this thesis considers how individual teachers' perspectives on 'race' equality have developed over time and in relation to Scottish education policy, which constitutes new and original findings,

important for this context and enabling comparisons with other national policy-informed contexts and perspectives. The findings suggest that teachers who demonstrated an awareness of the need to teach all children about difference stated that they would like to see most change happening in terms of:

- continued debates on the role of teachers, valuing their professionalism, resisting growing teacher accountability and the culture of performance dictating teachers' practice; and
- encouraging reflexivity, through self-reflection and creating spaces for group reflection and sharing of good practice at the school level.

Policy was not considered as a site of real influence for class teachers. Nevertheless, this study suggests that there is scope for more involvement of Head teachers in the development of local authority level policy directions for schools, enabling the capture of expertise from a variety of contexts.

Implications from this thesis for children and their parents are limited to suggestions for future research. There is an identified need to hear from a range of young children and their families about what they believe the purpose of education is. Within that, to hear how far primary schools should take multicultural and antiracist education, as well as what is the place of moral and religious education, and second/additional language learning in the curriculum. There is space for new research on the factors underpinning parental choice of Catholic schools in Scotland, with a focus on whether the Catholic faith formation prevents their pupils from learning about world religions and a variety of world views, and how much minority ethnic parents choosing such schools for their children realise what makes Catholic schools differ in this respect.

It would also be beneficial for teachers to engage with primary school aged children and their parents on how to approach ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity sensitively but courageously, in an informed, confident manner. Teacher-led action research, aiming to

improve minority ethnic parent-teacher (and also teacher-pupil) relationships, might have the power to befriend Otherness in teachers' own eyes.

Finally, research comparing the Scottish to the neighbouring and other European contexts (and beyond) is needed, in order to connect teacher understandings of multicultural and antiracist education from Scotland with the experiences of teachers in other contexts, and encourage intercultural learning for teachers and teacher educators.

11.5 Reflection on continuity and change during the course of this study

In 2008, when I started this research, the Scottish political outlook was full of hope, with the change in the government of the previous year. At the same time, the economic downturn and financial recession started to affect ordinary people, bringing economic challenges for local authorities. Austerity continues and intensifies, with the impact of financial cuts felt by many. For example, the provision of specialist support for schools continues to diminish, alongside local authorities' care, welfare and social work provision. Youth work, after school clubs, libraries, and community organisations are all affected. Increasing deprivation, shared by people of all ethnicities, disproportionately affects minority ethnic children and families, with funding for initiatives fostering intercultural understanding for all at risk.

At the same time, social changes on the local level are undeniable. Schools are diversifying further, and the reporting of racial discrimination and hate crimes is on the rise in Scotland. It has been argued that tough economic conditions lead to the hardening of social attitudes and an increased incidence of racism. On top of that, current political debates on migration and the Syrian refugee crisis expose the need to approach those topics in schools.

Issues of migration always come to the public fore at a time of political change and elections. With the Scottish Government versus Westminster, opposing stances on immigration are clearly visible in the public discourse. It is inappropriate to claim that Primary aged children are not affected by this. The Scottish Independence referendum had a huge impact on schools, and not just in High schools, where 16 year olds were allowed to vote for the first time in

history. There is impending 'Brexit' referendum, and the proposals to repeal the European Convention on Human Rights and replace it with the British Bill of Rights, which is considered as to be designed to weaken state protection in law. Even though in Scotland Human Rights are given legal effect through the Scotland Act 1998, it is not a time to be complacent. Recent local parliament elections saw significant gains for Conservatives in Scotland; Scotland is also not entirely UKIP-free, with the party being represented in the European Parliament. In this context, the fight for 'race' equality seems to be as important as ever.

Scottish education must respond and adapt to social changes, although the latest OECD Review of Scottish education (2015) was on the whole positive about inclusive Scottish schools, noting that 'ethnic minorities perform higher, but not all do' (2015:70). Notably, Asian-Pakistani, black Caribbean and African pupils still perform below other ethnic groups, with Scottish Travellers least likely to hold a degree qualification. New national policies such as Getting It Right for Every Child and the 1+2 Approach to Language Learning exhibit the potential to make a difference, but the road ahead, as ever, requires a sustained effort to maintain a 'race' equality dimension.

I have definitely realised over the course of this study that multicultural and antiracist education cannot and will not ever be taught in separation from other social justice issues important to society. Intersectionality of social justice issues is undeniable and something that already provides a relatable 'way in' for teachers. More teachers in this study spoke about social class inequality as affecting their pupils' lives than mentioned racism as something to learn about at school. As with sexism and gender inequality, all types of injustice are based on imbalances of power between social groups. Yet antiracism and multiculturalism are just not seen as something that is high on the teacher's radar, unlike Children's Rights or the issue of global citizenship. Despite the fact that all teachers recognise that racism exists, for many, it does not affect them, they don't see it at school, therefore they don't think of creating the time and space for including it in their practice. On the one hand, most teachers see the need to prepare the children for life in the wider, globalised world, yet on the other, many of them do not have experiences with multiculturalism themselves, associating it solely with the perspective of their pupils, wanting to fit in with the rest of the class. This usually means that

as teachers, they see their role as helping the minorities to assimilate, with an occasional acknowledgement that the world is bigger than their school, their community, their country. However, the truly critically multicultural practices which were described in this thesis take place when individuals are committed to widely-understood equality, human rights and social justice. These people want to make a difference in their pupils' lives, they are caring, nurturing, and live by the values that they teach. In this thesis, I drew attention to the challenges teachers face in practising critically multicultural education, but I also pointed out many aspects to celebrate.

Reflecting on the research process and the study's limitations

The Findings chapters are based on empirical research which, if conducted again, could be different. The post-structural, critical realist and interpretivist lens allowed me to focus on the process of meaning creation, which was suitable for this study. The main methodological design, as well as case selection, worked well for this study when its limitations were acknowledged. However, split by local authority did not show significant differences, which I had expected to see. Realising how multidimensional and influential the school's context is, I would now choose to spend more time observing the schools and class teachers. Greater familiarity with the context and the possibility of interviewing additional specialist school staff, for example, could have led to a deeper understanding of the individual schools' contexts. However, the inclusion of Key Informant interviews allowed me to get to know the context of the central and local education authorities in Scotland; one which I was entirely unfamiliar with at the start of this thesis and one of the reasons why I chose to undertake my doctoral research in Scotland – to study another context in which intercultural education is possible.

I regret not being able to conduct focus group interviews with teachers. As these are intended to concentrate on meaning and knowledge production, they would have greatly contributed to a more nuanced and member-checked formulation of findings. However, it was not practical in the time scale of this project; additionally, this would have resulted in too much data to interpret in one PhD thesis.

The process of policy and analysis could also have been more nuanced. I intended to use elements of Critical Discourse Analysis but do not feel this was possible. I would like to be able to conduct smaller-scale, CDA-focused policy discourse and conversation analysis studies in the future, aiming to explore *with* teachers and student teachers how meaning is produced in the field of education for social justice. I still believe that terminology matters.

Finally, this thesis could have explored multicultural and antiracist education through a comparative lens. One of this study's limitations is the exclusion of recent debate on intercultural education in other national contexts. However, as with the limitations stated above, adding anything else to the study's methodological design would have raised the overall task over a manageable threshold. The time scale of the project has also presented a barrier to revisiting most recent Scottish policy development contexts.

I intend to close this thesis with a personal reflection.

It has been 10 years since I moved to Scotland in the autumn of 2006. In the meantime, Scotland and Edinburgh have become my home, and I have become a researcher, teacher educator, youth worker, Bilingual Support Assistant (terminology matters!) and a friend to many new people. It has been an incredibly enlightening journey, influenced by the people I met along the way, but crucially also by my own bilingual and multicultural lens. I keep bringing my Polish, female, learner and teacher experiences to all I do in Scotland. Similarly, having become part of an American family over a decade ago, I am used to, in my daily life, comparing and contrasting, but also picking and choosing, aspects of Scottish, Polish and American ways of life and worldviews. Having many lenses to see the world through is my life and the core of what I advocate in my professional work, too. I believe this doctoral journey has added a few more perspectives onto my worldview, making a full circle back to the original research question of this study, when I asked: what are Scottish teachers' perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education?

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Project Leaflet for Local Authorities

Ania Byerly
The Moray House School of Education
The University of Edinburgh

Scottish primary school teacher perspectives on multicultural and anti-racist education

PhD research project

Background

The current composition of Scotland's schools mirrors the one of an increasingly diversifying Scottish society. If education is to be the means for achieving a greater equality and social cohesion, then the issues of cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious diversity need to be considered both by policymakers and educators. This study aims to link legislation, educational policy and curriculum with real teacher perspectives on diversity, multiculturalism, equality, anti-racism and inclusion. It explores how the different equality strands are approached in the daily school practice, not depending on the actual representation in the pupil make up. By concentrating on the teachers' attitudes to diversity and their understandings of the potential role of education for social equality and inclusion, it also aims to explore what is the impact of education policies on these attitudes, which in turn impact on teacher practice.

The choice of topic and research questions was influenced by my previous research in the area of 'intercultural education' in Ireland and in Poland. The wording of the title and subsequent use of terms 'multicultural and anti-racist education' are often contested. Still, in light of the current academic discourse and my own previous experiences, I decided to employ them over an overarching 'equalities' theme, as well as invite the study's participants to discuss and evaluate these terms and their understanding in the course of this research.

Project aims

The study will focus on:

- (1) teacher understandings of multicultural and anti-racist education, or education for equality, diversity and inclusion
- (2) teacher attitudes to cultural, linguistic, religious, racial and ethnic diversity in the school, community and society
- (3) how teacher beliefs, skills and knowledge of equality issues inform daily practice of learning and teaching within their school's context

These points will be explored on the background of relevant educational policies in order to see how teacher understandings and attitudes correspond to educational policy ideals on national, local and school levels.

Details of the project

This study takes place in 4 primary schools in two Scottish local authorities. The schools are chosen on the basis of ensuring a wide scope of social composition. As the study is limited to 4 schools only, these are in both an urban and rural setting, situated in both more and less socially advantaged areas, of varying size, also incorporating composite classes, and one of them is a denominational school. The choice of teachers in any school is also intended to include varying points of view, here by inviting one more experienced and one less experienced class teacher, if possible.

The fieldwork commenced in spring 2010 and is hoping to be completed by spring 2011. In each school I would like to spend about 5 to 7 days, during which I will:

- (1) interview the Head Teacher (30 min), the English as an Additional Language Teacher (1 hour), if there is one, and/or other visiting support teachers, where applicable
- (2) collect authority and school relevant policies and documents relating to equality, inclusion and diversity
- (3) carry out a non-participant observation in class and interview two class teachers (2-3 full days of class observation + 1 hour interview)
- (4) observe the whole school - before and after classes, during breaks, assemblies, special events etc.

After the completion of all fieldwork and initial analysis, the interviewed class teachers from all 4 schools will be invited to a follow-up group interview(s). This will allow me to offer them some initial feedback, share the emerging themes, possibly aiming to agree on a common statement on the practice of multicultural and anti-racist education in Scottish primaries, as seen by the teachers themselves. It will also be an opportunity for the teachers to engage in a debate on the terminology used in policies and the curriculum, as well as its common understandings. These focus group interviews will involve a minimum of 4 teachers each and last approx. 1 hour. They will take place outwith the schools - either at the University of Edinburgh or other location convenient for the teachers, i.e. a local community centre.

Project outcomes

The study will draw multidimensional pictures of whole schools, presented in a series of case studies, as visible to a visitor, support staff, class teachers and the senior management. It does not seek to verify any hypothesis, as it is an exploratory study, which can be later developed on a larger scale, depending on post-PhD funding possibilities. This study does also seek to engage its participants in considering equality issues and making them relevant in their daily work.

The analysis and interpretation of the study will be supported by the literature of the topic in their Scottish, British, and wider European contexts, as well as the expertise of my supervisors, Professor Sheila Riddell and Doctor Rowena Arshad. In the write-up of the research, all information will be anonymous, and neither the schools nor any individuals will be named; the study's limitations will also be acknowledged.

Upon completion of the study, I would like to offer feedback sessions for the participating schools and the respective EAL Support Services, as and when convenient. I would also be happy to offer a feedback session for the council staff if

that would be of interest. Lastly, it is intended that the project will form the basis for teacher professional development materials which could be used in Scottish schools in the future.

Additional information

If you have any questions or would like to find out more, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone, email or post.

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With all best wishes,

Ania Byerly

Appendix 2 - Project Leaflet for Schools

Ania Byerly
The Moray House School of Education
The University of Edinburgh
Simon Laurie House 1.14.
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh EH8 8AQ

11 November 2010

Scottish primary school teacher perspectives on multicultural and anti-racist education

Dear Head Teacher,

I am a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh and am writing to ask if I could conduct some of my research in your school. Your school has been recommended to me by XX from the XX Council, who thought that you might be interested in the topic. A formal letter of approval has been issued by XX, whose office, I believe, should have forwarded it to you.

My study explores how cultural, ethnic, linguistic, religious and other diversities are approached in Scottish school practice. It is a small scale study focusing on the teachers, which takes place in 4 primary schools in two local authorities. It involves observation in schools and classrooms and interviews with Class Teachers and Head Teachers. It does not involve the children themselves.

The study focuses on:

- (1) teacher understandings of issues of equality and inclusion, including multicultural and anti-racist education
- (2) their attitudes to cultural diversity in the school and society
- (3) how these inform the school's daily practice of learning and teaching.

In short, I would like to spend a few days in your school, observing two selected teachers in their classrooms and then discussing the abovementioned matters. I would also like to talk briefly with you and collect school specific documents relating to equality issues, to be able to place the school within its local context.

In the write-up of the research, all information will be anonymous, and neither the school nor any individual will be named. Upon completion of the study I will offer feedback to the schools involved.

I understand that you are very busy, but I would be delighted if you were able to participate. In order to discuss this further I will telephone next week, or could arrange to come to your school on the nearest possible occasion convenient for you. Alternatively, you can contact me on 07927 192 288, or via email to A.K.Byerly@sms.ed.ac.uk.

With all best wishes,

Ania Byerly

Appendix 3 - Interview Schedule

PhD title: What are the perspectives of Scottish primary school teachers on multicultural and anti-racist education?

This is a guide to questions asked during the interviews. They do not necessarily follow this exact format, order or wording, depending on the flow of conversation and specific teacher or school context. The content of Head Teacher and EAL Teacher interviews would vary to a degree from those asked to class teachers.

In bold are the main research questions that are sought to be answered.

Interview questions

What attitudes do teachers have towards cultural diversity in and outside the school?

Q1: What do you think about the diversifying of Scottish schools?

Q2: How diverse is your class?

(Is it ability, ethnicity, bilingualism? What categories the CT uses?)

Q3: What is your perspective on integration of minority and majority ethnic pupils in Scottish schools?

- Do you find pupils mixing with each other?
- What are the ways of integrating pupils to live together in your school and in their neighbourhoods, or in Scotland in general?
- Is there anything the school can do to assist the process?

Q4: What does equality in social life mean to you?

- Terminology used - Fairness? Justice? Fairness and equality: treat everyone the same or treat everyone equally?

Q4: Can you tell me some more about the school community in general?

- Social class background, area, religion, historical issues or important events?

Q5: Can you tell me more about the children in your school/class?

- Social composition, how many ethnic minority children, migrant workers, Travellers, English population, movement of children to and from the school, how many children with English as a second language?

What are the teacher awareness and understandings of what is meant by multicultural and anti-racist education in Scotland?

Q1: What do you understand by the term multicultural education/ anti-racist education/ education for race equality? (some details and possible threads as below)

- Are you aware of these or other terms being used? What do they mean and involve?
- What terminology are you familiar with and using?

- Where have you encountered them, or where do they come from?
- Are these terms similar, different, same?
- What issues do they involve? What comes to your mind first?
 - Possible threads: issues of discrimination, intolerance, recording incidents, bullying, racism, race equality, bilingualism and EAL/BS provision, celebrating cultural diversity, religions, traditions.

Q2: Staff development and support: What kind of training have you received concerning issues of race equality, inclusion and diversity? (*Wait until they bring it up themselves*)

- How much and how often? One-off, CPD, ITE, other sources?
- Do you know where to look for information and support in unfamiliar or difficult situations?
- Do you team up with other teachers to discuss any of these issues? When would you do that and when and why wouldn't you?
- Leadership and management team – how influential are they in your daily work?
- What does the role of your school Equalities Officer involve? EAL/BS staff?
- Would you like to see more training offered in this area?
- Do you feel confident in addressing issues of cultural diversity in Scotland and your school? How confident are you when it comes to talking about racism, discrimination, intolerance etc? What are the situations when you include these topics in your classroom?

How do teacher understanding, attitudes and beliefs impact their practice?

Q1: Can you show me or tell me about any diversity oriented activities, lessons, projects etc that you have done in the past or have planned for the future in your class?

- When is it relevant to incorporate multicultural/anti-racist contents in your classroom?
- How does the curriculum address issues of race equality? Does it give you sufficient guidance or opportunities?
- How do you see the CfE? Is it a vehicle to take race equality forward with?
- Do you discuss conflicts and incidents with pupils? (the ones involved, whole classroom, whole school) How are they followed up?
- Can you give me some subject-specific examples? Where is it relevant, or easier to carry out - English, RME, PE, other specific subjects?
- Do you find you could put these issues across different ages and stages? P1 and P6? How else can you discuss and do things with different age groups?

Q2: Do you think multicultural and anti-racist education should be/ can be put explicitly on the school agenda and in the curriculum? Why? How?

- Where are the difficulties for recognising cultural diversity in your work?
 - How do you measure the performance of bilingual pupils?
 - Possibilities and concerns
 - ASKING FOR ADVICE

Q3: How have your attitudes and understandings been developing over time?

- Can you see any changes? Did your personal experiences contribute to these changes?

How do teacher attitudes correspond to the attitudes expressed in education policy?

Q1: What kind of policies are there in place /you are aware of/ which concern issues of equality and diversity, inclusion, or multiculturalism and anti-racism?

- What level of policies are these – national, educational authority or school-specific?
- What role do you think these policies have or should have when it comes to issues of ethnic and cultural diversity, race equality and fighting racism?
- Do you think they are needed?

Q2: How practical do you consider these to be?

- Do you think they are well-written and helpful in assisting you in the field of race equality?
- Do you use them in your practice? Do you consult them?
- Do you agree with what they are stating?

Q3: What are your school specific policies?

- Do you have any input in creating them?
- Do they include issues of diversity and race equality?
- How are they being implemented? Are they effective? How are they evaluated?
- School's code of conduct, ethos and unwritten rules – what are they and what do you think about them?

Q4: What whole school approaches to promoting 'good race relations' and positive view of ethnic and cultural diversity are employed at schools?

- What are the strategies for preventing exclusion?
- What are the purposes of ethnic monitoring at school in your opinion? Are you involved in obtaining or analysing this data?
- Is it an issue concerning only school which have a substantial ethnic minority representation?

Other questions I would like to ask:

- What would you like to see changed and why?
- Do you ever see and discuss examples of good practice from other Scottish schools? English examples? Overseas schools? Research evidence?
- What kind of guides or initiatives for schools have you seen or used (governmental or HMIE publications, GIRFEC, ready made lesson plans, self-evaluation packs for schools)?
- Do you find any difficulties or obstacles in communication with pupils/parents (due to language, cultural differences, different standards or expectations?)
- How do you seek out your pupils' and their parents' views? Are they providing feedback on issues of race equality in your school?
- Identity issues: How does valuing Scottish identity and other national or ethnic identities fit in your classroom?

Appendix 4 - Respondent Profile Sheet

- Name:
- Position at school:
.....
.....
- Age:
- Gender:
- Can you define your ethnicity?
.....
- Do you consider yourself as having a disability?
.....
- Where did you train to become a teacher? Institution/city:
.....
.....
- Length of service:
.....
- Where have you taught in Scotland?
.....
.....
- Have you taught outside of Scotland? If so, where?
.....
.....
- Any other professions before you started teaching?
.....
.....

Contact details (e-mail or postal address) in case I was to contact you in the future:

.....
.....
.....

Thank you!

Appendix 5 - Sample of field notes from classroom observations

The following is an excerpt from one of my field notes diaries, which I kept throughout the classroom observations. It covers the first half of a morning with a P7 class on a last day of observations with one class teacher, Andy.

Day 4

Friday 16th September

I come to the school and class that is completely empty and quiet. I worry for a while that sth is going on that I'll miss. But as the bell rings, children come in, and soon after CT [*class teacher*] comes in as well.

Children unpack, sit down, read novels. CT deals with some small business various children approach him with.

.....

8:50 Spelling

9:40 Maths

Break

10:45 IDL

12:10 Golden Time

End of day

.....

CT reminds children that they should all be reading novels now – a few kids come to the class library to choose some books. This is a small bookshelf, but has about 150-200 books! Small, long, short, etc, etc.

CT does register, then goes quickly through who hasn't brought parent consultation slips yet. [9am]

Interesting fact: today all children's snacks are in the 'not-so-healthy' tray, there's nothing in the 'healthy' tray!

“Read for 5 more minutes, then we get started”. Next 5 minutes – organisation of diff. things that should be returned to the CT.

[9:10] CT asks 4 children to distribute their homework folders & ink pens (which are in a tub by the whiteboard pens). CT turns on the whiteboard.

Checking spelling homework first – children swap jotters and will peer mark their work (each other’s!). Teacher turns on the projector thingy and shows what he’s on -> + gives answers. Children ask some Qs, some are confused, essentially they haven’t read the instructions very carefully.

Children give ticks for good answers.

Homework was single side worksheets on homophones. Class was divided into 2 so there are two diff. sheets. Children mark the one that they didn’t get to do themselves. Nice system.

CT asks children to recycle their sheets – there’s a few of them already in the jotters – and the CT asks if sb can tell him how to do it so that not everybody gets up at one time – he gets a suggestion that 1 person from each table collects those sheets and goes to recycle them. Similarly, they put away their homework folders in that manner. CT also praises all class for very good presentation skills and tells them their standard and expectations for presentation are both really high.

CT also says he wants some feedback on yesterday’s writing - as it was the best writing they did so far (he read them yesterday after school) and so wants to know what helped them do that. Children say it was easy, well-structured etc. CT referred to sth happening at yesterday’s pupil council meeting – sth about CTs getting feedback from students.

[9:30]

Speed writing

CT gives them all a title & some instructions: (written on the big whiteboard)

Title: The Bully

SC: No more than 4 characters – so that descriptive language is used.

Children will watch a video that will give them some ideas, then they will have to write a story about bullying.

The film is from an American high school and shows multiple short situations of bullying – people being left out, shoved around, beaten up etc. Just realistic, easy to interpret situations, no words, black and white, with nice music (atmospheric for the topic).

CT asks for comments and impressions about the film.

- It was fake
- Things go on
- People get hurt

“What stood out for you?”

- That people would actually do that (beat up) in the open
- Not getting invited to a party isn’t bullying

“But how would you feel if everybody else did? How about being the last one picked for a team?” CT asked, children don’t see it as a problem, they rationalise. “How would you feel?” - upset.

Child offers ideas on how to change it. CT presses on him saying he doesn’t think he ever experienced being consistently last. Lots of hands go up.

- Pushing away, pushing a person towards a wall.

“How did that person feel?” – angry and sad. 1 boy commented: “shove her back!” CT asks him to leave the room & to be talked to later.

CT continues: “You don’t see it as bullying, so what is bullying?”

- constantly name calling
- reporting, tell the person to stop doing that.

“What if you’re too scared?”

- you could tell your parents
- be brave as an observer to tell teachers if sb is fighting -> after they are finished, to make sure they are OK.

“Why would you wait? I would stop them.”

- Asking for anonymous informant – not telling that I reported.

CT keeps on challenging what pupils say – both ways, good and not so good ideas – challenging confidence.

CT asked who has ever felt they were bullied? At first nobody. CT raises his own arm. Then other arms go up (about 10). “How did that make you feel?” – lonely, left out, threatened.

“We could talk longer about it but now’s the time to start speed writing”, which lasts 15 minutes as a rule. First children get into pairs and ‘at medium level noise’ discuss their ideas for writing short story about bullying. They each have little whiteboards to use (as a scrap paper – note taking) to jot down their ideas. They are engaged.

CT goes out to speak with that boy who made a comment ‘shove her back’, outside of the classroom. We can’t really hear them. That boy has missed all the discussion in class, had time to think about it though.

Timer goes off, discussion time over, now the writing time will begin.

CT + child back in class.

CT uses lollipop & asks for ideas to be shared around.

1. A long story of some sort...
2. ‘You can get bullied because of your religion or your colour...’ -> a girl called [name protected to ensure anonymity], visible minority ethnic, non-white. (CT comments briefly only on the religious part – does not acknowledge colour or use the word racism)
3. Other instance/idea + reporting to the police

Timer set for speed writing, it’s 10am, children start writing, only after being silenced again by the CT.

CT walks around the class helping those who ask for help.

CT reminds them of possible situation settings, also about presentation – since they are writing in pens, they can’t use rubbers if they make mistakes – ~~crossing words out~~. Also reminds them of the possibility to use good descriptive language of feelings and emotions.

CT asks me if I made it to the uni on time yesterday. I like that he makes contact with me every now and again, including eye contact. The other P7 teacher deemed me invisible, bar for the breaks.

.....

4 girls in the class + 2 boys have non-Scottish names, but all speak English proficiently – not sure if they have another language. **ASK**. Two girls are visibly different – one with dark skin (SE Asian?) and one a visibly different blonde, with unusual, skewed eyes (Eastern European?) [name protected to ensure anonymity], plus a girl called [name protected to ensure anonymity] is of Turkish descent, from what the CT has been hinting in class, but she looks British to me.

The two boys look Scottish, what is their ethnic heritage? Can I see any difference in their appearance? - looking for difference from an adult perspective, perhaps, and very subjectively. At the beginning of observations 4 days ago I only noticed the two non-white girls as visibly minority ethnic. **ASK**

.....

15 minutes are up – timer goes off. CT asks all to stop, read what they wrote, make sure all sentences make sense, then after 1 minute they have another 4 to make corrections, check spelling & punctuation etc.

All children work really hard :) 2 boys write at the computers, same as yesterday.

There is a log for bathroom if anybody needs to go – they ask CT first, then log in their name and time out (book by the door) and go. CT generally lets people go if they are ‘desperate’.

Looks like this morning is all about speed writing, no time for Maths – 8 minutes left until break time [10:22]. But they touched on an important topic and look like achieving a lot.

4 minutes are up – have 1 more minute to read through it then they are asked to swap with partner and read their work. Boys at the computer do the same – print off then read through. This looks to be working well as this way everybody has the opportunity to share and read other people’s work.

I read to boys’ stories – and they are really good :) Possibly not finished but describing a bullying situation and writing about their feelings.

Tidy up, put jotters away, CT waits, bell goes. He lets people line up table by table. Children take snacks and line up by the door. Tables chosen for sitting nicely, though that’s a tough choice as all sat really quietly. That was a nice morning!

.....

CORRIDOR DISPLAYS – stairwell up to the P7 classrooms

1. Photos and text (photos of the children playing outside in the playground)
 - Consideration for others
 - Acceptance
 - Fairness and justice
 - Respect
 - Responsibility
 - Cooperation
 - Respect
 - Co-op

All of them at eye level for the children and impossible to miss – they walk through there all the time.

2. "Protecting children and young people". "The Charter"
 - Get to know us
 - Speak with us
 - Listen to us
 - Take us seriously
 - Involve us
 - Put us in touch with the right people
 - Help us be safe
 - Etc. -> for adults in school? So that children know what adults' responsibilities are too? **ASK**
3. "Our School Values" – an A4 sheet listing some of the core values:
 - Responsibility
 - Respect
 - Integrity
 - Tolerance/acceptance
 - Fairness and justice
 - Consideration for others
 +pictures and short notes, e.g. 'let others have their say'
4. Artwork – Van Gogh's Sunflowers made by the children (a whole big wall)
5. Different quotes – about winning/losing; other values – interesting, big letters, easy to read.
6. **Corridor leading to the ICT suite and staff room** – Diversity-oriented, framed artwork. I think it was only put up recently (I saw somebody putting it up last week), with simple messages designed onto pretty & attractive small posters:
6 of them described below:
 1. "You are now entering an equal opportunities area"
 2. "Diversity" (+ lots of positive adjectives as a word scramble around)
 3. "If you need someone needs a friend – be one"
 4. "Friends together!"
 5. "Diversity Naturally!"
 6. "We are all different... We are responsible for our future, not the past!"

Plus "Value of the Month" posters – for example: "Make a difference – now!"

.....

Met the school's EAL teacher during the break in the staff room – arranged the interview with her for next Thursday! :)

[10:45] Back in class.

Appendix 6 – Sample interview transcript

Confidentiality issues discussed.

Ania: If you can tell me, to start with, how diverse do you think your classroom is? In what ways?

Teacher: Diverse... I would say that there's children... all the children are different, they all have their own needs, there are children of different ages – I mean I have some children that are almost a year higher – I have children that are turning 6, and some are almost 7. I have children who have different family backgrounds, you know, their parents think highly of education, they see education as a big thing, so they support their children more at home at times, and then there's other children whose parents maybe didn't like school, I think of a couple of parents who didn't like school, so they maybe don't, maybe they are not as confident with their child's work. There's other parents.

I have children in my class who have just different needs altogether. Speech – you know, differences in their speech, differences in their interests, social skills, their confidence, there are children here who are maybe not as confident, saying things to the other children, maybe that sort of thing. Yeah, just... I have... **I don't have any children... from a different culture in my classroom, but I still value them, you know, the different background that they come from.** You know, in that particular class that I'm in. But when I worked in... sorry, when I've had other classes, I had Traveller children, I've had, I had a little Polish boy last year, and I had, eem, two children who received bilingual support, so I supported them in my classroom. I don't know if you want that....

A: Yeah, that's also interesting, not what you are doing just now, this year, but your career has been shaped by what you have done so far and in your training...

T: Yeah!

A: Could you tell me some more about how long you have been working here..? I know you have taught in other schools as well?

T: Yeah, yeah. I would say, well, I've been teaching for 4 years, and I worked in a school in [place name], it was children from one extreme in a complete opposite, children from very, em, sort of challenging backgrounds, what was it called, just a... can't think of the word, just children who had a lot social work involved with them. And then I had the complete opposite – children whose parents again thought very highly of education, they were lawyers, doctors, and then children who...

A: And it was in the same class?

T: Yes, it was in the same class, from one extreme to the complete opposite. So, there was loads of support having to go in for all the children who, you know, maybe had to get speech help, help with their speech, I had to deal with loads of Social Work issues in that class, and then had other children who were the complete opposite. And I've had children who had English as their second language. **And it's just really my job to try to make sure they feel comfortable and included in the class, that the children value them, you know, that everyone is... to be treated the same. That's what, you know, I just make sure, that the atmosphere in my class is inclusive. That the children feel valued.** Like I had a little boy last year when I was teaching, he was from Poland. And we had... we would talk about where he's from, and we would talk about Scotland, and he brought in things... He was a lovely little boy, and it's just really making children aware that we're not always from the same place. And I had little boy, [name hidden] in my class, who had English as a second language, and he brought in Urdu books and things, and I brought in Urdu books as well, so they were in the library, and he was happy with that. Because I think there may be some children who wouldn't want to feel different. So you have to be careful with that as well, that they don't want to be noticed as them being different in class.

A: And that was a P2 class as well?

T: That was P2. I had a P1/2, but [name hidden] the little Polish boy was P2 – no, he was P1, but [name hidden], he was P2. They were young, so they were quite happy to talk about where they were from, em, [name hidden]'s mum came in to speak to the class, and she brought in some things – some posters, just things about Pakistan, and Urdu.

A: So how did you go about that? When you are planning things like that, these activities, were they your initiative?

T: Yeah, **they were my initiative, but what we're trying to do is to fit things into our projects as well.** You know, in citizenship, how to be a good citizen – that's all planned. And with Health and Wellbeing, and emotional wellbeing – just to fit in with the Curriculum for Excellence, we really should be meeting all these children's needs. Because it's a global...you know...

A: Awareness?

T: The global awareness, really global awareness is fitting in, should fit in with our projects... And what we're doing in our next term, term four, every single class in this school, will focus on Global Awareness, so every class will touch on that. And Traveller children as well. I had 2 Traveller children last year, and they don't like... what I find anyway is that they don't like to be... put on the spot. They like, they are children that don't want to be sort of mentioned as the Traveller, and who kind of shy away from it. That's kind of mine experience, I've found...

A: So what do you do then? Do you let them be..?

T: Just let them be, last year I just let them be, they just wanted to... Well the two children I had were regular attenders. Whereas I had a child in Primary 4 two years ago, who would be off for about 5-6 weeks, and then he would come back again. And then he would maybe... he was obviously... the learning that he'd had, that he knew before he went away, was gone. So then his confidence was a bit lower, meeting friends again, try to fit back into the class again, I remember, was quite difficult for him. And the other boys didn't respond very well to him.

A: [9:13] So we're looking here at issues of inclusive classroom again, and social justice as you've said about trying to respond to everybody's needs in the class, because everybody is different, in this way. I've interrupted you, I'm sorry.

T: No, no, what I was trying to say was that there's a mix of like Traveller children, children from different parts of the world in this school, and children of English as a second language. So you have to just...

A: Do you find any particular group of children more or less challenging in your work? You spoke about difference in social class, but also – how do you personally see working with such diverse children?

T: Well I found the **Traveller children**, especially when in P4, because he wasn't fitting in with the group. So when I was trying to teach, because he was off for so long, and he would come in and have to start again, and even though we had Traveller input from [name hidden], who you've met in the staff room, she works with those children, that seems quite, not different, just challenging. You know, making sure that these children feel comfortable being in a school environment. Some Travellers haven't been to school for years. You know, even some children come to school at the age of 6 or 7 or even later, age 10, they have not been in education at all. So then – how do you approach that? But then that's not my main job. Obviously I have to still do things to make them feel included in the class. So I would say that was quite a challenge. In my experience as a teacher, when I taught [name hidden] and [name hidden], it was just lovely to see how they progressed. From the beginning of Primary 1, [name hidden] – it was just amazing to see him speaking more English, just really getting more vocabulary from talking to his friends, and just being in the classroom environment, you know, I didn't have to sit and teach him, he was a bright little boy anyway, so he was picking everything up quickly. And yeah, **just really valuing his culture, valuing, but just making him included in the class. I didn't like to pinpoint him. You know, he just fitted in, he just fitted in. I think that's important, that they fit. So they are just one of the class.**

A: So what are they ways in which you make other children in the class aware that, and you mentioned it already, that we are not all the same, and that we are not all Scottish, maybe, or that we are all not living the same kind of life-style, living in Scotland? How do you do it with such young children in your class?

T: How do I do that? **That's just usually done through discussion, maybe like a story, through a story, that would maybe just come up anyway, it's maybe not necessarily planned. But then, like you sort of do it all the time, in Infants, you're always talking to them about things. But it can be planned, as well,** it can be planned in my Religious and Moral Education, it comes in there – you know, everyone has a different religion, you know like if we're touching on Hinduism, or Christianity, that some children aren't, em, Christians, because [name hidden] wasn't allowed to...go to the church, when we were doing our Nativity, so I had to explain to the children why, that we are all different, that it was [name hidden] mum and dad's choice, that we all have choices in life, so it just comes, in Infants, it comes out. But it's also planned as well, with your Health, or your RME, PSD as well, when we do circle time, you know, even things like I have blue eyes, I have green eyes, blond hair, brown hair, we're all different, so it tends to go in that way. **But it has to be taught as well because...** **There's actually been an issue in the school.** We have a Traveller child who doesn't want to come in to school, at all. Because of the children calling her names. [lowers her voice] Hindu.

A: Mmm, [the Head Teacher] told me about this yesterday...

T: Did she. Because her skin is a little bit of a different colour. **So that's a lack of education in that part, in those children,** you know, she's not [Hindu] You have to, I think, teach, you do have to teach, the children, to respect. **You'd have to still think some children have respect for other children, who are different. You know, I'd like you to take it for granted with the little ones, when naturally they just include them all. But as they go up the school I think they have to really be taught, these things, and maybe be shown what happens in the world. You know, what people can do, to... really be horrible, they really have to be shown that... (14:24)**

A: One of the Qs I wanted to ask was about discrimination. You know, how do you teach children about the fact that people are not just for other people, that there are bad people in the world and people are being discriminated against, on the basis of many things, gender, sexual orientation, social class, and race and ethnicity come under that as well.

T: That's true.

A: How do we teach the children about the fact that discrimination is there and we have to counteract it, do something about it to make sure it doesn't happen, as often, or at all.

T: As often, I know, because it does happen, and it's awful. **I think with primary aged children... I always think you have to be honest with children and relate to what's happening in the world.** This is what's actually happens in the world, and these people are doing this, to these people, because it's in the news... I think - obviously some issues they may be too young to hear about - but I think just showing them, or telling them story about what actually happens when someone is being... there are some Bible stories, aren't they? That would fit in to, you know, gender, and just things that happen in the world about different pays – you know the pay for women and pay for men, is that all the kind of thing that you're meaning?

A: Have you done anything like that with your children in the last year or so?

T: Just trying to think about **our projects**... What was our projects... In Primary 4 we did industry and we were looking at the jobs that people were doing. And we were talking about like the...joiners and... losing their jobs. Oh, that's a bit better, I just remembered, we were talking about how Polish people were coming over and getting less pay, and going into these jobs. And some, not everywhere, but some people were getting paid off, in fact there was a child that told me that there was less jobs because the companies were paying some Polish people more money... Less money... And we got into discussion about that, how it's still fair that they are coming over and they are working and they are hardworking, because... Well, in my experience, someone I know, well, Joshua's dad [her ex-partner] has worked with Polish people and he always said that they worked harder. They worked harder than the British

people, because they learned so quick, they were maybe not trained. So we were having that discussion with the Primary 4 children, about that, because we were talking about jobs, talking about how people were losing jobs because of the....

A: The recession?

T: The recession. We were talking about the recession, and about why the houses were not getting built, and because of all that. So we had a discussion about that. And it's just really talking about how it's still fair for them to come... I had to debate some children who weren't thinking that it was fair, but then we kind of thought: no, it is fair, if they are wanting to work, then they have the right to work. [17:49]

A: You are using all my key words...

T: Oh, fantastic!

A: Because fairness and equality are very much connected to discrimination and inequality, and they all fit with the issues of social justice, generally. About treating people fairly, meaning we all have the same chances, at the beginning and the end. But what I wanted to ask is – you said earlier that some issues...with the young children, it might be too early to talk to them about some things. What did you mean? Can you elaborate on that?

T: Aha. How do you talk about some things... I'm trying to think about a concept that they might find difficult. Like they might underst... **Mind you, it doesn't matter how young they are, they can still... I think still, I believe you should still tell them. Maybe not things that are going to frighten them**, you know, things like the religion and things that happen to the world because someone set you know, violence. Things like that, because the world is a horrible place. People do kill people, you hear all these stories in the news about... religion and things like that. And although children are maybe saying these things to children, I think they need to realise that it's serious, because, maybe not, I don't know, to show them what is happening in the world, and maybe if they've seen what adults do to other adults, that are different to them, they will maybe think – 'oh that's not nice, I shouldn't maybe start this'.

You know, I don't know, **I don't know if that.... Maybe they are too young to... But then my little ones, the Primary 2, I still think you should... you know, sort of tell them, initially tell them how we are all different, why we're all different, about choices in religion, you know you have go in that way**, talk about them and their appearances are different, they talk about their houses are different, and then talk about everything – some people live in houses, some people live in flats, some people have a mum and dad some people just have a mum. We are all different. And **maybe you can approach it through stories – lots of stories have issues. Maybe in that way. And feelings – how do we feel when someone doesn't want to play with us.** Why do they not want to play with us. Is that the reason to leave them out – just because they have a wart on their finger. You know, because children say – she's got a wart and I'm not playing with her. There's a lot of drama.

And also, as I found working in a village school, the parents obviously know each other really well. And there's an area in *[place name]* where parents do not get on, and I think because the parents have maybe argued, it rubs off the children, when they are maybe saying 'don't play with so and so'. You know, 'don't play with them in the playground...', they may make up something – it's the parents, not the children. So they are getting that from their parents. And it's just really reinforcing that they are all.... You know *[name hidden]* – children love *[name hidden]*. And they really respond well to her, even they know she is different. And *[name hidden]* as well, and *[name hidden]* – they disrupt the class but the minute they win something, the children are like – yaay! They get so excited, and it's lovely to see that at that age. I don't know if that....

A: So do what degree these are all – everything we talked about so far – is supported to be included in your work, for example through the curriculum, through the things that are there. We were talking about teaching children explicitly, about...

T: Yeah, you do need to teach them.

A: To what degree then do you think, do you feel this is, you have time for it dedicated in the curriculum, in the projects you are doing, and to what degree this is more up to yourself to include it within the teaching in your classroom?

T: **I think you have to teach it and I think you have to embed it in the curriculum. You have to do it, because if children don't feel valued, and if you don't understand these issues, then the classroom is not going to be an inclusive, happy place.** I think you have to get that bit right, I think, first. And if any little issue comes up, anything related to, em, diversity or inclusion, or like that, you have to deal with it as it happens, and then like the CfE, just embed it in your curriculum. You know, **if something comes up that week, you may think I want to plan a lesson for the following week to make the children aware of something.** They may not know what it really is or what they are actually doing. They may not realise this. Really, **they may not realise that this is affecting that child, with what they're doing, they may not know, so I think you have to teach them. But with the projects certainly, with the Curriculum for Excellence, we are looking more closely at how you can tie that in to projects, and making sure it is taught.** Because it's all citizenship, and Rights Respecting Schools, because I'm involved in that, you make sure that they all have the right to be listened to, the right to be valued, the right to... yeah, just their right, their own right, as a person. And... what was I going to say... **I think it's the teachers' responsibility.** Because you have the children, so you have to be aware of this, because when they go out in that world, to high school, they are going to meet different people, they are going to... you know, the whole world is cultural... you have Edinburgh, and there's people from different places and cultures everywhere. And **I think if they don't have the respect for people now... I think you have to do it early on, with the little ones. Because then you wonder – if you're not doing it when they are young, is that maybe why in P6, they...**

A: They are calling people names?

T: They are calling people names, and they haven't picked it up, that it is serious, because they wouldn't like if it happened to them if they went to Poland...

A: I was asking [*the Head teacher*] and [*the other Class teacher*] earlier on about different policies that are in place. Do you think the school policies, like the Behaviour policy, or the council policies, as there is a lot written work on equalities, on...

[sb interrupts us asking the teacher a question]

A: continues – I know there is quite a lot of policies being revised, and they are not all very new, some of them are quite old, and they are about equalities, some of them are about tackling racism for example – do you use any of them? Are you aware of any policies like that? Do you feel you are being supported by the theoretical framework, aside from the Curriculum, in what we are talking about? One of the things I want to find out is to what degree these are useful, because there is quite a lot of them produced, on different levels, national, authority, and then the schools are taking these on as well, because they have a legal obligation to include equalities in their work. **So to what degree you as a class teacher are being supported by things like policies?**

T: **Not really. I don't feel I am.** Because if there was an issue in my class to do with racism, I would go straight to [*name hidden*], my Head teacher. But I'm not sure what, that just me as a teacher, I would do that, and obviously I would... I can think of things I could do in my classroom, curriculum-wise. But in terms of the bit that happens next, that's not really what I do. This thing with reporting, it's taken quite seriously, and I don't really know a lot about it, no. I know that it shouldn't happen, but I don't know enough, a lot about it. The only policy I have read for risk... well, not read... it's the one that's been done recently for Traveller children. It's a policy for them, but I'm not sure about the other ones.

A: Are you involved in creating the policies together, in your school?

T: Yes, we do focus groups, we'll be doing that soon, yeah. We'll be looking at more policies, so I wonder if that's... I'm not sure if there's one... for that. Did [*the Head Teacher*] say there was...?

A: I know that you have actually a Race Equality policy, in this school, but it was I think prepared about 2 years ago? Something like that, I'm not quite sure.

T: Right

A: It is there, so I was wondering to what degree it was useful. I don't know, have you seen any other guides for schools, produced for schools, because there are things there, like examples of good practice from other schools, or activities you can do with children, so you are not reinventing the wheel?

T: **No, I haven't seen them, it would be good to maybe get a hold of them, no.**

A: [28:08] You sound pretty confident about everything you are saying, is that coming from your own, well, I wonder – do you feel you have had a lot of training, for example, in issues of general equality, or is it your personal drive?

T: Em, probably a bit of both. Personal drive, and... yeah, because I go to church, and just the way I've been brought up, and just treating everyone the same, yeah, and so I would, I understand how people feel. Yeah, it's my personal drive. Yeah, I have been, like at University, we were told about it, and we had to think of activities to include children in your class, like if you had a child who had English as a second language, what would you do to support them – I remember doing something about that.

A: And how did it work out when you had children in your class...?

T: It helped. Because you were more aware, like, em, making your library have books with... picture book with Asian people in them, and then instead of having just a flag of Scotland, you would maybe have a flag of their country, like Poland. **But then, as I've sort of... been teaching for longer, people make you aware that – do these children want to be singled out? So you have to be probably more aware of the child as well,** 'cause they have to be happy. Do they want to be the only Polish child in the class and have one Polish flag just for them? Maybe they don't? Maybe that might make them feel more different, I don't know. But

I would certainly just want the best for them and whatever makes them feel happy, that's it really. **And I would ask for advice** – you know like I'm always... When I has [*name hidden*] in the class, there was an EAL teacher that was in, and they are actually going, because of money, council cuts, they are going to be taken out, which is a shame. I would always speak to her and ask if there was any ICT games to support him in class that he could go on, for example to help his vocabulary; speaking to his parents, asking his parents if they wanted to come in...

A: How was their English? Was it workable or did you have any difficulty with communicating with them?

T: Mum did. Mum was actually having lessons, she was learning how to speak English, the dad was good. So he was fine. They were happy. And [*name hidden*]'s mum and dad, the Polish little boy, they were happy, and they were lovely. So, I've had good experiences. You know, up the school, I haven't been up the school for a couple, a few years, so I don't know.

A: Do you think it might be easier? Or to what degree is it different to get the younger children talk about that. As a teacher, do you think it's generally easier and better, as you've said already that you should start early? If next year you are in a class up the school, would you still be the same relaxed about it?

T: **I suppose it depends on the children, the class and what they are like, what their personality is like. Because I suppose you can't just judge them on their age, just because they're older, they are not going to be as nice to these children, or as tolerant of differences.** But, as they go up the school, they follow the crowd more, don't they? Like sometimes, maybe one person can say something and they, they might not agree, but they might be inclined to join in with the crowd. Whereas younger children, they say what they think and they don't care what other people think. You know, they just... Whereas older children, they might not necessarily want to make that child feel different, but being sort of... the girls are like...they want to stay in their little gangs, so they will make you see it. But

maybe not. **But I suppose it doesn't matter on the age. And I would feel comfortable teaching all these issues. Yeah, I would do.**

A: Do you feel there are whole school approaches that are coming from [the Head], or initiatives that you have as a whole school, that are directed...

T: Well we're sort of geared towards the Rights Respecting Schools, that's kind of going in with it, and the charities that we do, like the children living in, Malawi, we did a link with Malawi, but then we found it quite difficult to get in contact, so we ended up leaving that. Then we have done the Shoebox Appeal, so we did touch on the different charities in the school, and the Rights Respecting Schools is taking off. We're at Level 1 just now, but as we get better at it, as we do more things, it's really tying in lessons, to make children aware of like racism. All these issues are touched on through that, through the citizenship, being a good citizen, you know, what is a good citizen. We have a lot more resources, being brought in recently. Health is a big thing just now. Health and Wellbeing, it's all – because it's wellbeing, isn't it. And Health and Wellbeing now is seen as the big umbrella under the Curriculum for Excellence. So, we have a lot more resources down the school and throughout the school, we have the Health and Wellbeing books brought in. They have stories that go with them, to bring up issues, like neglect, or, you know, like foster children, well, stories, or even children who have lost someone. Even touching on these issues, there's books to go with worksheets. They all fit in to different things in the curriculum, like they fit into Health, into Citizenship, Personal Social Development, the projects – like as I was saying we were doing Industry, but that led on to talking about...

A: Migration.

T: Migration, yeah. So, that's what we're trying to do as school just now, because last night we had a staff meeting and we were talking about the Traveller children, I think it's probably because of the issue that happened in Primary 6. It's really trying to make them feel included and knowing what the Traveller education people do as their job.

A: So you had someone come in?

T: Yeah, we had [name hidden] and [name hidden]. Well [name hidden] goes around different schools and supports children who were maybe away and travelled for a while and then they maybe phone in and say, right, I'm going to this school. So she rings the school and gives the teachers support, the children support. So the meeting was about the policies on Traveller children and that led us on to talk about projects, and those ladies are going to try and help us fit projects, like if a project in infants was Homes, how to tie in Traveller homes, making sure that it's seen as, well, acceptable. It's OK to live in a caravan. It's OK to live and travel, if that's what those people want to do. So, **we're trying to embed these issues into our projects, that's really what we want to do more of. We are certainly a school that see Citizenship and Health as important. And RME.** Because I am a part of the RME group, religious and Moral Education group, and Rights Respecting group, and what we've been doing is looking at all the resources we have and looking at the projects – and try to fit the resources so that teachers know which ones to go for. Like there's maybe an issue on this in your classroom, if you want your children to understand, be empathised towards these children or these people or...

A: So you're preparing this for everyone?

T: Yes, for everyone, for every teacher in the school to use. So that's what we're trying to do, and trying to look what we have that can be tied in your projects, and your health projects... So we're really trying to do that. But the **Health and Wellbeing** covers all that, doesn't it? So I think it is seen... **It must be seen as a big thing.** Because if you don't have that, that's what makes us, shapes us for the future, doesn't it? You know, if you're confident, and you know how to talk to people and you're better at your work, because you'll be meeting people from different cultures when you're working. **It think that's what Curriculum for Excellence is all about, it's preparing children and young people for the world... for life and work.**

A: Because it is diversifying...

T: Yeah.

A: And not only in big cities, as you said you had some non-Scottish people coming to [*place name*] as well.

T: Yeah.

A: I've lost my train of thought just now... We have about 5 minutes left, right?

T: Yeah, is that going to be enough?

A: Well, we won't have time to cover all, unfortunately, but what can we do – you have to be back in class.

T: I know.

A: If you're happy to come to that focus group one day then we'll go more into... terminology for example. One of the questions I ask is **what do you understand by the terms of multicultural education, antiracist education, or multicultural and antiracist education together. Are these terms that you heard, you're familiar with, or you're using?**

T: **Probably not so much in the classroom, no.** Probably should use them more. You know, when you're...

A: What would they entail? What's the idea?

T: **Yeah like, when you're reading a story, and one of the girls has a Sari on, you know she's from, she's a different culture, because she eats different, you know... Oh, we can't say different, because we eat Indian food! And yet we're trying to say....** It's their national food. That's fair. But you know, their culture is maybe to pray, their religion; that they go to the mosque every day and they pray. Do we do that? But... Yeah, you can do that through pictures and stories. That's multicultural, isn't it? - looking at people's cultures.

Racism is more.... I suppose it's different cultures, because with cultures you get different, with different multicultures comes racism, because people are, your culture is different, well

cultures are different, so then you're going to have different colours of skin, different values, different, em, daily routines, so then, that can be..... Is that right? Because those people are different, then people who don't accept those differences are showing... racists... you know... It could be a lack of knowledge of it... a lack of... But **I think if early on, in primary, if they are exposed to different cultures and just, you know, just reading lots of stories, showing them lots of different things, then it will just become a part of their life.**

A: How was it for you? When you were growing up, or when you were at school, did you have a diverse classroom? How was it?

T: I just remembered I had a girl in my class, and she... she wasn't very clean. So everyone would do this, put their finger up and say: don't go near, it's [*name hidden*], smelly [*name hidden*], and not be very nice to her, because they knew she didn't have clean clothes. And it's a shame. But I can't remember anyone from a different culture. No, but in my experiences the children have just accepted the children.

A: Do you see Scottish society in general as increasingly diversifying?

T: I think so.

A: In your experience, have you seen any change?

T: I don't see any change, no, I just... Maybe even better, for the better maybe, I think. I don't know, I mean, I don't know places... In my experiences, I've not... It's been quite positive. There may be diff... I don't know. Em, my experiences have been fine, it's just people accept people, and in schools – there was an Indian teacher.

A: In here?

T: In [*place name*]. And she would come in and she would have her fish and a lot of sort of home-made things in her dish. And all the teachers spoke to her like, yeah. Maybe it's because it's not a big thing, so you don't really notice it. **I think sometimes if you pinpoint it too**

much, you might maybe end up making it more of an issue. I don't know. I think it may be that as well.

A: So do you think Scottish society is diversifying at all or to you is the same as it was?

T: Hmm, is it more accepting of people with different culture, or do you mean just...?

A: I think it's both, because first of all can you see it? Because if we are talking about diversity the first thing that comes to your mind is – are they being represented in society or not? In the school here, most of the children are white Scottish...

T: They are, yeah, they are. [43:15 ????] more experience of, you know, different places... I don't know what it is like in workplaces, and then certainly when I was talking about my ex-partner working with Polish people, some of them, and this is awful, like they were hard workers, but they would sometimes steal from other Polish people, their tools and things, that's horrible. **So in my experience in this school, a nice school, everything is fine. But I don't know what's going on in the world, or in a building site, or... I don't know really what people can be like out there in the adult world, because I work with children all the time. It's, you don't know. You just hope that those children we are teaching are going out in the world and not being like that. Is it worse? – I'm not sure, to be honest, because I've only been teaching for so many years.** But in my experience, especially Kirkcaldy West, where there was such a huge difference! I had a little girl in my class and she would come to school, head full of head lice, you know, she couldn't top roll and these children from very well-off families, I mean the complete opposite, would speak to her, take her to the toilet, they weren't horrible to her, but they were Primary 1. They were all Primary 1. **They were so accepting of these different children. So I feel in my experience they would just accept.** And I had [name hidden], a little boy, Indian boy, and yeah, he just got treated the same! **I never used to hear any comments, I never had any comments from my children that were racial, or just lack of knowledge of it, you know. Because there's this part of lack of understanding, they are not being racist, they are just, you know.** My little boy would say 'that boy's face is black'. You know, he's right, it is black. But it's not meaning he's been,

em... So I think you just hope, you don't know what's going on in that world out there, because people can be so horrible...

A: And what sort of values parents are giving their children as well...

T: Parents. I think that's a big thing. Because if we're doing our bit, should parents been taught more. Or maybe it has gotten better, because if parents are say in their 30s, a lot of my children's parents are in their 30s, so years ago maybe they haven't got taught anything, so maybe it has got better. Because if they are putting that in their children now, you know, what experiences did they have? Maybe it has gotten, I don't know. Right, I'd better go now.

A: Right, thank you for this. [46:14]